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RESEARCHES IN ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN GEOGRAPHY

PART I

BY

OLAF A. TOFFTEEN, PH.D.

PROFESSOR OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE,
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TO
MY WIFE

Map of Northwestern Mesopotamia

According to the Assyrian Inscriptions

ARIME Lands
AMADANI Lands and Mountains.
Têla Cities.

RESEARCHES IN ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN GEOGRAPHY

THE LANDS OF ISUA, DARIA, AND BÎT-ZAMÂNI

A. ISUA

TP. I: ^{mât}I-su-a, *An.* 3:88.
Shalm. II: ^{mât}I-šu-a, Mon. 2:42.

After the conquest of Saranid and Ammanid, TP. I mentions very briefly the conquest of Isua and Daria.[1]

Saranid and Ammanid were situated in Mount Aruma, the Armenian Taurus, and Ammanid was in its western part. As Tiglath-Pileser was marching from east to west, it would be expected that Isua was west of the Taurus, somewhere in the western part of Anzitene.

This is confirmed by a statement of Shalmaneser II,[2] who says that Enzite was a part of the land of Išua. The situation of Enzite[3] is well known, and as Enzite is here called a province of Išua, that land must be the region between the upper Tigris, Arṣania, Euphrates and the river Arghana Su.

So far as the references to the two lands are concerned, there can be no question of their identity. Streck[4] has, however, raised an objection on account of the different sibilants, and has located Isua by the upper Zâb and Išua by Enzite. Belck,[5] on the contrary, has identified the two names and located this land in Anzitene.

Isua is grouped with Daria, but Daria is without doubt identical with Diria, which must be assigned to a position around Arghana,[6] and therefore we have clear evidence for both its western and southern boundaries. The change of the sibilants may be accounted for in the lapse of more than 250 years between TP. I and Shalm. II and has its parallels in Subari and Šubarî, Subartu and Šubartu.

[1] *An.* 3:88-91.
[2] Mon. 2:41-46.
[3] See below under Enzite.
[4] *ZA.*, XIII, p. 96 and XIV, p. 163.
[5] *ZDMG.*, 51, p. 559.
[6] See below.

ENZITE

Shalm. II: ^{mât}En-zi-te, Mon. 2:42, 43, 45, 65; Balw. 2:5; Spring. Inscrip. 10.

Shalm. II: ^{mât}En-zi. Lay. 12:18.

Šamš. Ad. IV: ^{mât}En-zi. *An.* 2:12.

TP. IV: ^{mât}En-zi. Ninn. I, 34; Fragm. II, 23.

The form Enzite occurs only in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser II; in his Layard inscriptions he uses the form Enzi.

Coming from the city of Kâr-Šulmanu-ašarid over Bît-Zamâni, Shalmaneser II reached Enzite after crossing the mountains of Namdânu and Merḫisu.[1] The situation of Enzite, north of Bît-Zamâni and Mount Namdanu of Dirria, south of the river Arṣania and west of the Tigris is made certain by this text. In the Balawat inscription Shalmaneser speaks of his march from 'the land of Enzite to the land of Daiaeni.' In the Monolith inscription he reached Daiaeni from Suḫme.

In Layard 12:18 this march appears as starting in Enzi, and the conclusion is that Enzite and Enzi are identical.

Šamši-Adad IV (col. 2:12) gives the boundaries of his kingdom, reaching 'from the city of Zaddi in the land of Akkad unto the land of Enzi.'

In the time of TP. IV (Pl. I, 34) Enzi belonged to Urarṭu, from which he took it.

If my restoration of *ABL.*, 444, obv. 6, is correct, we should in that text read [^{mât}En-zi][2]-te-ni, a province preceding that of Alzi[3] and belonging to Urarṭu in the time of Sennacherib.

Streck[4] identifies Enzite with the modern Hanzith, between Palu and Arghana, and compares it with the Ἄνζητα of Ptolemy (13:19), a city of Great Armenia in the nome of the same name, otherwise called by the classics Anzitene.

SALURIA

Shalm. II: ^{al}Sa-lu-ri-a, Mon. 2:44.

In the city of Saluria Shalmaneser erected his magnificent statue.

[1] Mon. 2:42-45.

[2] It is possible that we should restore [^{mât}Me-li]-te-ni.

[3] For Streck's opinion that Alzi and Enzi are identical, see below p. 28.

[4] *ZA.*, XIII, p. 94.

As he claims to have conquered the entire land of Enzite, Saluria was probably the last city of that land he reached before crossing the Arṣania—the text[1] seems to indicate this—and I should therefore assign a position for it in the northeastern part of Enzite, near the pass of Ammaštub. The city of Saluria was built at the foot of Mount Ḳireḳi.

ḲIREḲI

Shalm. II: ^{šad}Ḳi-ri-e-ḳi, Mon. 2:44.

In the reading of the text I follow Craig:[2]

^{al}Sa-lu-ri-a KI-TA (=šaplu) $^{šad(?)}$Ḳi-ri-e-ḳi. Peiser[3] reads: ^{al}Sa-lu-ri a-šar(?) me-ti-ḳi ri-e-ḳi, "in Saluri a place of long marches," which does not seem to give any fitting sense.

MERḪISU

Shalm. II: ^{šad}Me-ir-ḫi-su,[4] Mon. 2:41;

AND

NAMDANU

Shalm. II: ^{šad}Na-am-da-a-nu, Mon. 2:41.

Shalmaneser II crossed the mountains of Namdanu and Merḫisu on his march from Bît-Zamâni to Enzite. Their exact position either south or north of Dirria, is at present impossible to decide.

Dirria itself was a mountainous land, and we know two of its mountains, west of the Tigris, Arqania and Amadani. Further west, by the Euphrates, was the highland of Adani.

ADÂNI

TP. I: ^{mât}A-da-e-ni, *An.* 4:79; Anp. III: ^{mât}A-da-ni, *An.* 3:98.

In the list of Nairi-lands, which Tig. Pil. I conquered, the lands of Adaeni and Kirini are grouped together. They are preceded by the land of Abaeni and followed by the land of Albaia. There is, however, no definite order in this list—two or three names are grouped together as geographically connected—but these groups are taken promiscuously.

In the annals of Ašurnaṣirpal III (*An.* 3:79–99) the location of this land is quite well defined. He reached the cities of this

[1] See under Enzite.

[2] The Monolith Inscription, Shalmaneser II.

[3] *KB.*, I, p. 164.

[4] The reading of this sign is doubtful.

land by marching up-stream along the Euphrates, and as he mentions no crossing of the river we are safe in concluding that he marched east of the Euphrates. Amadani is the mountain WNW of Arghana and corresponds to the modern Arghana Maden. As he reached Amadani from the land of Adani, that land should be located to the west or southwest of Arghana Maden.

The following cities lay within the land of Adani:

UMALIA

Anp. III: ^{al}U-ma-li-a, *An.* 3:97;

ḪIRÂNU

Anp. III: ^{al}Ḫi-ra-a-nu, *An.* 3:97; Johns, *ADD.:* ^{al}Ḫi-ra-nu, [210] K. 7682, rv. 16.

KARANIA

TP. I: ^{mât}Ki-ri-ni, *An.* 4:80; Anp. III: ^{al}Ka-ra-ni-a, *An.* 3:99.

Umalia was evidently further southwest, and east or northeast of it was Ḫirânu. Karania was located between Adani and the pass of Amadani. In the time of TP. I, it was an independent land, or city district, but in the time of Ašurnaṣirpal it had been laid under the rule of Adani.

B. DARIA

TP. I: ^{mât}Da-ri-a, *An.* 3:88; Anp. III: ^{mât}Dir-ri-a, *An.* 3:100.

Daria and Isua are grouped together by TP. I.

Ašurnaṣirpal reached the land of Dirria, coming from the west over Adani and Karania.

Arqania has generally and without doubt rightly been identified with the modern Arghana. Amadani I would identify with modern Arghana Maden, and the pass of Amadani would then lie between Arghana and Arghana Maden. Dirria would be the land west of the Tigris, south of Egil.

Arqania extended apparently to the eastern bank of the Tigris, and there is another land, Dirra,[1] mentioned by Ašurnaṣirpal and conquered by him in his fifth year. It is possible that Dirria and Dirra are identical, but as long as there is a differentiation in the spelling of the two names, observed by the same king and in the same inscription, and the former land was west, the latter

[1] III R. 6:49, Dirra is called a city of the land of Nairi, and mentioned with Nirdun.

east, of the Tigris, I shall confine Daria-Dirria to the territory near Egil, west of the Tigris. This does not exclude the possibility that the two territories were united under one king in the time of Ašurnaṣirpal, although there is no statement to that effect in the inscriptions. Sanda[1] has reached the same conclusions. Streck[2] argues for a Daria on the upper Zâb and identifies Dirria and Dirra, locating it on the upper Tigris, although he is not clear as to its exact location. Belck[3] identifies Daria, Dirria and Dirra and locates it on the upper Tigris by Arghana.

AMADANA

TP. I: ^{šad}A-ma-da-na, *An.* 4:58.
Anp. III: ^{šad}A-ma-da-ni, *An.* 3:100, 101, 104.

Amadana occurs in the Nairi mountain list of TP. I between the mountains of Elama and Elḫiš. There is no positive evidence for identifying it with Amadani, but TP. I had visited the region of Daria, where Amadani is located; from which it may be fairly assumed that the two names are identical. Above I have identified Amadani with the modern Arghana Maden.

ARQANIA

Anp. III: ^{šad}Ar-ḳa-ni-a, *An.* 3:101 bis, 103.

Arqania is identical with the modern Arghana. It extended, however, east of the Tigris. The 'pass of Amadani' ran between the mountains of Amadani and Arqania, west of the Euphrates; the 'pass of Madni' would likewise be regarded as running between the mountains of Madni and Arqania, east of the Tigris. The modern Sivan Ma'den lies close by Arghana Maden and may represent the inscriptional 'pass of Madni.'

MALLÂNU

Anp. III: ^{mât}Mal-la-a-nu, *An.* 3:101 bis.

This district lay within Mount Arqania, west of the Tigris.

ZAMBA

Anp. III: ^{mât}Za-am-ba, *An.* 3:102.

Zamba was the land between Mount Arqania and the rivers Ṣûa and Tigris, in the neighborhood of modern Egil.

[1] *MVG.*, VII 2, p. 7.
[2] *ZA.*, XIV, p. 163.
[3] *ZDMG.*, 51, p. 559.

ṢÛA

Anp. III: ^{mâr}Ṣu-ú-a, Anp. 3:102.

I have identified this river with the river running into the Tigris by Egil, because Ašurnaṣirpal III evidently was on the north side of Arqania after having entered the pass of Amadani; and after the raid on the shores of the Ṣûa and the Tigris he proceeds south through the same pass of Amadâni to the city of Parzaništun.

PARZANIŠTUN

Anp. III: ^{al}Par-za-ni-iš-tu-un, *An.* 3:104.
ABL.: ^{al}Par-za-ni-iš[-tu-un], [147] K. 1170, rv. 7.
Johns, *ADD.:* ^{al}Par-za-ni-iš-ta, [742] 79-7-8, 309, obv. 28.

The city of Parzaništun was situated on the border between Dirria and Bît-Zamâni. Ašurnaṣirpal[1] reached it on his way from the pass of Mount Amadâni to the city of Damdammusa.[1]

As Damdammusa was the outlying fortress of Bît-Zamâni, to the north, it is probable that Parzaništun did not belong to the province of Bît-Zamâni, but was either an independent city, or else belonged to Dirria.

My restoration of this name in *ABL.*, 147, I regard as certain. It occurs in a letter of Ašur-riṣûa, the Turtan of Sennacherib in the land of Kurḫi, and as he also mentions the cities of Ištar-durâni and Dûr-Šamaš, which were situated in the eastern part of Kurḫi, he probably refers to some revolt extending from the city of Parzaništun on the Tigris in the west to Dûr-Šamaš in the east, or possibly he refers to some gathering of troops in that region—the mutilated text permitting no certain conclusion.

C. BÎT-ZAMÂNI

Anp. III: ^{apil}Za-ma-ni, *An.* 2:12, 118; 3:105; ^{apil}Za-ma-a-ni, Mon. K. rv. 36, 37.

Shalm. II: ^{mât}Bît-Za-ma-a-ni, Mon. 2:41; Bît-^{mât}Za-ma-a-ni, Ob. 143; ^{al}Bît-Za-ma-a-ni, Mon. 2:41.

ABL.: ^{mât}Bît-Za-ma-ni, [245] K. 513, rv. 6; ^{mât}Bît-Za-ma-ni, [757] S. 548, S. 887, obv. 8.

Johns, *ADD.:* ^{mât}Bît-Za-ma-a-ni, [125] K. 423, obv. 5; ^{mât}Bît-Za-ma-ni, [1119] R^{m} 464, col. II, l. 6; ^{al}Bît-Za-ma-ni, [863] K. 13199, obv. 4; [^{mâ}]^{t}Bît-Za-ma-ni, [915] S. 1001, col. II, l. 12.

Bez. Cat.: Bît-Za-am-ma-nu, 82-5-22, 106, obv. 9.

[1] Ašurnaṣirpal III, *An.* 3:104-105.

Zamânu is the name of the founder of the dynasty of Bît-Zamâni. In the time of Ašurnaṣirpal, the king of the district, over which this dynasty ruled, is still referred to as the 'son,' i. e., the successor on the throne, of Zamâni. From the time of Shalmaneser II it is referred to as a bîtu, or "dynasty," with its territory. Originally this dynasty was confined to a single city, but it early extended its power over the cities round about.

Zamâni is the region around Diyâr-Bekr, west of the Tigris, immediately before that river turns eastward. Šubria is the land north of the Tigris, and Nîrdun is south of Šubria and the Tigris in the western part of Kašiari; Urumu is south of Tušḫa on the southern slopes of Kašiari, and Nairi included, in the time of Ašurnaṣirpal, the districts of Arime.

Ammeba'la, who was king of Zamâni in the time of Ašurnaṣirpal, was a friend of Assyria, but his friendship with Ašurnaṣirpal was not to the liking of his people, and his nobles revolted and slew him. Ašurnaṣirpal then left the city of Tušḫa and marched to Zamâni to avenge the murder of his friend.[1] The people had placed a certain Bur-Rammâni on the throne of Zamâni, but Ašurnaṣirpal slew him, flayed him and spread his skin upon the wall of the city of Sinabu, and appointed Ilânu, a brother of Amme'bala, as king of Zamâni.[2] But Ilâni also revolted, perhaps under pressure from his people. Ašurnaṣirpal, who was then in Dirria, hurried southward, quelled the rebellion, and punished the offenders.[3]

Ilâni's successor is not named. It is significant that Amedi is called his "royal city" or capital, because it points the fact that even Bît-Zamâni was not an Assyrian province in the time of Ašurnaṣirpal III.

Shalmaneser II marched through Bît-Zamâni on his way from Bît-Adini to Enzite.[4] Twenty-five years later he sent his Turtan to Urarṭu, who reached that land by a march around Kašiari and Bît-Zamâni.[5]

In the contracts Bît-Zamâni appears both as a land and as a city. In the letter, *ABL.*, No. 757, Šar-êmurâni includes

[1] Ašurnaṣirpal III, *Annals*, II: 118-25.
[2] Mon. of Kurkh., rv. 42, 43.
[3] *Annals*, III, 104-9.
[4] Shalmaneser II, Mon. 2: 40, 41.
[5] Ob. 141-43.

the land of Bît-Zamâni in the greeting to King Sargon. This letter was written about 721 B. C., for this formula of greeting seems to indicate that Šar-êmurâni was governor of Bît-Zamâni, and he must then be assigned to the period between Marduk-bêl-uṣur and Upaḫḫar-Bêl. The other letter, *ABL.*, 245, was written by Ašur-bêl-udannin, concerning some fugitives who had been brought back from the mountains and detained in the land of Bît-Zamâni.

The name Zamâni is probably the prototype of the classic Σωφηνή (Strabo xi, 521, 522, 527) and Σωφανηνή (Dion. Cass. xxxvi, 36; *Proc. de aedif.* iii, 2, *Bel. Pers.* i, 21; Plut. *Lucul.* 24, *Pomp.* 33; Tac. *Ann.* xii, 7). It was situated between the Euphrates and the upper Tigris round the city of

AMEDI

Anp. III: ^{al}A-me-di, *An.* 3: 107, 109.

Šamš. Ad. IV: ^{al}A-me-di, *An.* 1: 49.

Johns, *ADD.*: ^{al}A-me-di, [372] 82-5-22, 139, rv. 5; ^{al}A-mi-di, [942] K. 6367, rv. 8; [^{al}]A-me-du, [951] K. 276, rv. 3.

Ep. lists: ^{al}A-me-di, years 800, 762, 726, 705 B. C.

Amedi was the capital of Bît-Zamâni. For references to it by Ašurnaṣirpal, see above under Bît-Zamâni. It was among the cities that joined the great rebellion against Shalmaneser II and Šamši-Adad IV.[1] In the letters, the city of Amedi is not mentioned, but we possess no less than five letters from its governor, Upaḫḫar-Bêl, Eponym 705 B. C., namely *ABL.*, Nos. 200, 201, 424, 548, and 732. They are all addressed to King Sargon, and two of them are very important for the history of Urarṭu. Besides Šar-êmurâni, mentioned above, we know the names of five of its governors, who were vested with the Eponym-office: Ilai, 800 B. C.; Ṭâb-Bêl, 762 B. C.; Marduk-bêl-uṣur, 726 B. C.; Upaḫḫar-Bêl, 705 B. C.; Laiteilu, post canon-eponym (K. 6367).

Amedi is identical with the classical Amida[2] (Amm. Marc. xviii, 9: 1, 2; xix, 2: 14; *Proc. bell. Pers.* 1, 7; *Proc. de aedif.* 3, 1; Faust. Byz. 4, 24). It was the capital of Sophene or Sophanene, a south Armenian principality, and was fortified by

[1] Šamši-Adad IV, *An.* 1: 49.

[2] Ἀμιδα.

Emperor Constantine. It was also the capital of the Roman province of Mesopotamia, and is still called Kara-Amid—امد, امِد—although generally known, since the Arabic conquest, by the name of the province, Diyâr-Bekr. It was located on the right bank of the Tigris, a little to the north of its bend eastward.

DAMDAMUSA

Anp. III: ^{al}Da-am-da-mu-sa, *An.* 1:103, 110; ^{al}Dam-da-mu-sa, Slab. 27; ^{al}Dam-dam-mu-sa, *An.* 3:105; ^{al}Dam-am-da-mu-sa, Mon. K., rv. 48, 53.

Ašurnaṣirpal III says that he received information that Assyrians, whom Shalmaneser I had settled in the city of Ḫalzi-Luḫa, had revolted and under their governor, Ḫulai, gone and captured the city of Damdamusa. Ašurnaṣirpal III captured the cities of Ḫulai—Kinabu and Mariru—and Ḫulai himself was flayed and his skin spread upon the wall of the city of Damdamusa.

In the revolt of Ilâni, governor of Zamâni, Ašurnaṣirpal III reached the city of Damdamusa from Parzaništun, and from Damdamusa he went to Amedi. Damdamusa was, consequently, situated north of Amedi. It may also be inferred that it lay near by or on the Tigris on its western bank, because this is the first city of Zamâni that Ḫulai, who evidently marched through Šubria, reached and captured. In Damdamusa Ašurnaṣirpal built granaries[1] for storing the grain of Šubria, and this would imply that the city would be near the Tigris, over which the people of Šubria had to transport their tax-corn. Had it been inland, the Šubrians would have found it more convenient to ship their grain to Tušḫa, which lay south of them, on the southern bank of the Tigris.

ADMAŠ

ABL.: ^{mât}Ḫal-ṣi-Ad-maš,[2] [43] K. 122, obv. 19; ^{mât}Ḫal-ṣi-Ad-maš^{2}-ai, [245] K. 513, obv. 9.

The situation of the land of the fortress of Admaš is at present uncertain. In *ABL.*, No. 43, it is among the cities, delinquent in their contributions to the temple of Aššur. It occurs there next after

[1] Ašurnaṣirpal III, Mon. of Kurkh, rv. 53. [2] Or Bar. Par.

Isana, but the order in this letter has hardly any geographical significance. More important is *ABL.*, No. 245, where it is coupled with Bît-Zamâni and Mount Iasume, which may be identical with Mount Sumu[1] in Bît Adini, southwest of Bît-Zamâni.

SINABU

TP. I: ^{al}Ši-na-mu, Brok. ob. 3:14; Anp. III: ^{al}Si-na-bu. Mon. K., rv. 42, 43, 48.

Bur-ramânu,[2] the rebel king of Bît-Zamâni was captured, flayed and his skin was spread upon the wall of the city of Sinabu. That city had been fortified by Shalmaneser I, but was seized by the Arameans.[3] It is evident that the cities of Sinabu and Tîdu were situated quite far southwest toward Karadja-Dagh, because they served as granaries for the Arameans living on that mountain.[4]

Streck[5] claims, that "in der grossen Annalen-inschrift führt dieselbe Stadt (Sinabu) den Namen Kinabu . . . . und wird als Festung des genannten Ḫulai[6] von Ašurnaṣirpal erobert," and again: "Gemäss Ašurn. I, 106 lag Sinabu ganz nahe beim Kašiari-Gebirge." The fact is that Kinabu lay within Kašiari, in southern Nirbe near Têla and was the fortress of Ḫulai, while Sinabu was located near Karadja-Dagh, and was the fortress of Bur-Rammânu. There is no connection between the two cities whatever, and the war against Kinabu precedes that against Sinabu by at least three years.

Streck[7] likewise identifies with Sinabu the city of Šinamu, belonging to the land of Arime,[8] and this identification is probably correct.

TÎDU

Anp. III: ^{al}Ti-i-du, Mon. K., rv. 43; ^{al}Ti-i-di, Mon. K., rv. 48.
Šamš. Ad. IV: ^{al}Tidu, *An.* 1:47.
Johns, *ADD.:* ^{al}Ti-i-te, [877] K. 1572, obv. 9.

According to Ašurnaṣirpal III,[9] Tîdu lay on the border be-

[1] Shalmaneser II, Mon. 2:40. [2] See above, under Bît-Zamâni, p. 350.
[3] Ašurnaṣirpal III, Mon. of Kurkh, rv. 43-48. [4] Mon. of Kurkh, rv. 47-48
[5] *ZA.*, XIII, p. 74.
[6] Nowhere is it stated that Ḫulai had anything to do with the fortress of Sinabu. which was in the possession of Bur-Rammânu.
[7] *ZA.*, XIII, p. 74. [8] Brok. ob. 3:13-14.
[9] For references, see above under Sinabu.

tween Bît-Zamâni and Aram-Naharaim. This city had joined the revolt against Shalmaneser II, and in the list of Šamši-Adad IV, it is followed by the cities of Nabula and Kapa of Bît-Adini. According to this and to the order in the Ašurnaṣirpal inscription, Tîdu lay west of Sinabu.

Izzêda

TP. IV: ^{a1}Iz-zi-e-da, *An.* 81; Nimr. I, 33, ^{a1}[Iz]-zi-da, Frag. 2, l. 17. *ABL.:* ^{a1}E-zi-ad, [424] S. 760, rv. 1; E-za-du, [424] S. 760, rv. 20(?).

The city of Izzêda is found, among the historical inscriptions, only in those of Tiglath-Pileser IV. The annal-inscription, which has a reference to it, is very much mutilated. Streck[1] refers to it as a city of Urarṭu, but admits that several of the Urarṭean cities, mentioned in the inscriptions of TP. IV, may have lain in the land of Enzi. Urarṭu is to him the land around the lake of Van, and in that region or in Enzi we should accordingly look for this city.

Rost, who published these inscriptions, has, perhaps more than anyone else, paid special attention to the history of Tiglath-Pileser IV, and in his *Beiträge* and in the Introduction to the transliteration and translation of these texts, he has attempted to locate the lands and cities, mentioned in these texts. But Rost also is undecided. Once[2] he locates the cities of Izzida, Ququsanšu and Ḫarbisina in Kilḫi (= Kurḫi) or Ulluba, and again[3] he locates Ḫarabisina and the river Uluruš near the lake of Van. Kurḫi is the land north of Tigris (east-west course) and east of that river (the upper north-south course).[4] Ullubu was a part of Kurḫi,[5] but that land is not known to have extended west of the upper Tigris, and it is in that region, west of the Tigris, that we must look for the city of Izzêda. Rost[6] admits that the city of Kummuḫi, and the kings of Agusi, Milid, Gargum and Sam'al were vassals of Sarduri II of Urarṭu. With these allies the king of Urarṭu prepared an attack on Tiglath-Pileser IV, while the latter was occupied in besieging the city of Arpadda, which had been taken from Assyria by Urarṭu.

[1] *ZA.*, XIV, p. 116.
[2] Introduction to TP. III, p. xx.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. xxvii.
[4] Anp. III, *An.* 3:103.
[5] TP. III, Nimr. I, 28.
[6] Introduction to TP. III, p. xviii.

Rost then reasons that Tiglath-Pileser IV was too weak to attack his formidable foe and his allies so near the city of Arpadda, and that he therefore must have crossed the Euphrates, probably by Kâr-Šulman-ašarid, and then proceeded to the cities of Ḫalpi and Kištan, which belonged to the king of the city of Kummuḫi, and where he fought the famous battle against Sardurri. From there Tiglath-Pileser IV pursued the king of Urarṭu as far as the Euphrates, north of Amedi, whereafter he made a raid on the cities of Izzêda.

It should, however, be remembered that TP. IV does not state that he had crossed the Euphrates before the battle of Ḫalpi, which city belonged to Kummuḫi, and this land did not extend east of the Euphrates. That river he reached first at the "bridge of Euphrates,"[1] which most probably should be located opposite Mount Amadani,[2] and from there he made the raid of the cities of Ququsanšu, Ḫarbisina and Izzêda, after which he turned westward against Mati'lu of Agusi and the other vassals of Urarṭu, west of the Euphrates. Kurḫi and Ulluba are not mentioned in this raid, nor is it likely that the Assyrian king would have crossed the Tigris without mentioning it, especially as he was bent on his campaign against the Urarṭean districts west of the Euphrates. Seven years later Tiglath-Pileser IV made another campaign against Urarṭu and especially against that district in which the above-mentioned cities were located, and that campaign was conducted east of the Euphrates. He says:

> In [the city of . . . .] of the land of Til-Aššuri [. . . . I erected] an obelisk [. . . . and made] pure offerings to god Ṣur-tu, who resides in the land of Til-Aššuri. The cities of Niggu [. . . .], Ḫista, Ḫarbisina, Barbaz, Tasa, unto the river Uluruš I conquered, their soldiers I killed, 8,650 inhabitants [. . . .] horses, 300 mules, 660 asses, 1,350 heads of cattle, 19,000 sheep I brought away, I destroyed, laid waste and burned with fire and their cities I added to the border of Assyria.[3]

It is true that the city of Izzêda is not mentioned in this passage, still it may have occurred in one of the lacunae of the text, but the mention of the city of Ḫarbasina makes it certain that

[1] TP. IV, *An.* 68.

[2] Cf. Lehmann, *ZE.*, 1901, pp. 189 and 197.

[3] Tiglath-Pileser IV, *An.* 176–79.

this campaign was conducted in the same region as the raid in 743 B. C. These cities were located on the border of Assyria, therefore, somewhere west of Bît-Zamâni and Arime and north of Bît-Adini. They are also mentioned together with the land of Til-Aššuri, and Esarhaddon[1] informs us that that was another name for Mitani, which was located on the upper Euphrates.

These conclusions are verified by another inscription of Tiglath-Pileser IV, the so-called Nimrud Inscription, No I:

> The border land of the city of Kummuḫi', the cities of Ḳilissa, Izzêda, Diuabli, Abbissir, Ḫarbisinna, Tasa, the land of Enzi, the cities of Anganu and Benzu, fortresses of the land of Urarṭu, Kallama, its river, I conquered and added to the land of Assyria, and placed (them) under the province of the Turtan and the province of Na'ri.[2]

The 'border land of the city of Kummuḫi,' that could be added to the land of Assyria and placed under the governor of Na'ri, must be a land east of Kummuḫi = Komagene, and also east of the Euphrates, as Kummuḫi bordered on that river.[3] The cities of Ḳilissa, Izzêda, etc., would then lie between this borderland of Kummuḫi and the land of Enzi, on the border of Assyria, that is somewhere west of Bît-Zamâni.

This is still further verified by a reference in *ABL.*, No. 424, to the city of Eziad, which undoubtedly is identical with the city of Izzêda of the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser IV. Streck failed to see the identity of the two names and dismisses the subject by declaring that Eziat was a city of Urarṭu: "Eziat ^{al}E-zi-at: Sm. 760, rv. 1, und Ḫarda ^{al}Ḫa-ar-da: Sm. 760, obv. 11, die beide zusammen mit Ṭurušpa auftreten."[4] This letter does not, however, leave us in such uncertainty about the city of Eziad and its connection with the cities of Ḫarda and Ṭurušpâ. It is a report to King Sargon from Upaḫḫar-Bêl, governor of the city of Amedi and Eponym 705 B. C. He had

[1] Prim. A, 2:23; Broken Prim. 3:14.

[2] Tiglath-Pileser IV, Nimr. Ins., ll. 33–36.

[3] Anp. III, *An.* 3:96; Shalm. II, Mon. I, 37.

[4] *ZA.*, XIV, p. 133.

sent out scouts to ascertain the doings of King Argista of Urarṭu and those scouts reported:

The governor opposite us (and) the vice-governor with him keep watch in the city of Ḫarda opposite the Sukallu (and they say): city after city unto the city of Turušpâ is in battle array (obv. 9–14).

The city of Ḫarda or Ḫarida[1] was located on the bank of the Euphrates near the land of Suḫi, and the statement above proves that the kingdom of Urarṭu extended southwest at least as far as Ḫarda in Suḫi. It shows further that the governor opposite Amedi was an Urarṭean vassal and was hostile to Assyria. This hostility had at this time grown so bitter, that Upaḫḫar-Bêl had been forced to take his men, who were employed to cut beams, presumably for the building-operations in Dûr-Šarrukîn,[2] and send them into the war, and several of them had been killed or wounded (rv. 6–8), and he could therefore not send down the beams as fast as the Assyrian king might expect them:

"The beams, which were stored in the city of Eziad—I sent the Ituean with the mayor and dispatched (them) to the war" (rv. 1–4), says U-paḫ-ḫar-Bêl.

This makes it evident, that the city of Eziad was under the jurisdiction of the governor of Amedi and therefore belonged to Bît-Zamâni. There is no evidence in the inscriptions, that Bît-Zamâni extended east of the Tigris—it is the modern province of Diyâr-Bekr, and Eziad must be looked for west of that river, and somewhere midway between the Tigris and the Euphrates, because it belonged, in the beginning of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser IV, to Urarṭu and its province, opposite Amedi. It is also probable, if not certain, that the beams, spoken of above, were to be floated[3] down the river to Nineveh and Dûr-Šarrukîn, and as they were stored up in the city of Eziad, it may be presumed that this city was located on a western tributary of the Upper Tigris, probably the one North of Amedi.

The other cities of Urarṭu, between Bît-Zamâni and the Euphrates were:

[1] Anp. III, *An.* 3:14, 15, 34, 37.

[2] Compare *ABL.*, No. 138, rv. 11, and Johnston, *Assyr. Epist. Lit.* p. 151.

[3] This seems to have been the general means of transportation of beams from the Tigris' districts, and is expressly so stated by Ša-Aššur-dubbu of Tušḫa, *ABL.*, No. 705, rv. 10.

Qilissa

TP. IV: ^{al}Qi-li-is-sa, Nimr. I, 33.

Kuqusanšu

TP. IV: ^{al}Ku-qu-sa-an-šu, *An.* 77.

Diuabli

TP. IV: ^{al}Di-ú-a-ab-li, Nimr. I, 33.

Abbisir

TP. IV: ^{al}Ab-bi-is-ir, Nimr. I, 34.

Xista

TP. IV: ^{al}Ḫi-is-ta, *An.* 177.

Xarabisina

TP. IV: ^{al}Ḫa-ra-bi-si-na, *An.* 177; Nimr. I:34; [^{al}Ḫa]-ri-bi-si-na, *An.* 78.

Barbaz

TP. IV: ^{al}Ba-ar-ba-az, *An.* 177.

Tasa

TP. IV: ^{al}Ta-sa, *An.* 177, Nimr. I, 34.

Lupsua

TP. IV: ^{al}Lup-su-a, Fragm. II, 14.
ABL.: ^{al}La-ap-si-a, [610] K. 1142, obv. 11.

It is not certain that these two names are identical, nor that the city of Lupsua belongs to this group of cities.

Uluruš

TP. IV: ^{nâr}Ú-lu-ru-uš, *An.* 177.

Whether this is an eastern tributary of the Euphrates[1] or a western[2] of the Tigris, and in that case the one north of Amedi, is impossible to decide, but the former is the more probable.

[1] Kizil Chibuk. [2] Devetged-su.

ABAI

^{al}A.BA.AI: [509] 81-2-4, 123, obv. 7.

The city of Abai is not mentioned anywhere else in the *Letters*, nor have I found any other reference to it. But being mentioned in a letter of Ašipâ, an officer of Sargon,[1] who was stationed in Northwestern Kirḫu and who mentions several well-known Nairi localities together with it, like Šubria, Kulimmeri and Bulum, which were evidently neighboring localities to Abai, I feel warranted in assigning a position to this city east of Alzi, north of Šubria and south of the eastern Euphrates, in the Armenian Taurus range, not far from Daiaeni. In that case it may be identical with the land (or city district) of Abaeni, ^{mât}A-ba-e-ni, TP. I, IV: 79, a Nairi district, conquered by Tiglath-Pileser I. The ending -ni of this name is the old Armenian locative, generally suffixed to Urarṭean local names in the old Assyrian period, but omitted in the Sargon period, like Daiaeni and Daîe, Ṭunibuni and Ṭunube. In the Greek period, this locative appears very frequently, e. g., Gorduene (Ass. Kurṭu), Adiene (Ass. Adia), Calacene (Ass. Ḫilaḫḫi), etc.

Streck[2] compares Abaêni with the old Armenian Abunis (XXXVII: 12) northwest of Lake Van, and he also proposes Biaina (the Armenian name of Urarṭu) as an equivalent of Abaeni. Neither of these can be accepted. If Abaeni designated Biaina, we should expect it to reappear in the Assyrian literature in its frequent references to the land of Urarṭu. Nor can we look for Abaeni northwest of Lake Van, because Tiglath-Pileser I never went further north than the southern shore of that Lake.

[1] The letters addressed to Sargon, in the latter part of his reign, are readily recognized by the greeting to the "city of towers" (^{al}Bi-rat) or Dûr-Šarrukîn. The building of this city was undertaken by Sargon after he had accomplished his great Urarṭean campaigns and this project became then a cherished fancy of his. Any officer, addressing the king, felt therefore in duty bound to invoke a blessing over this city. As all the letters of Ašipâ (*ABL.*, Numbers 431, 506, 507, 508, 509, and 510) contain this greeting, they must therefore be assigned to the period 714-705 B. C. Ašipâ himself was evidently appointed to one of these northwestern districts, taken from Urarṭu, where Sargon needed men, watchful of his interests, in pacifying these countries. It must therefore have been a pleasure for Ašipâ to report that "these people of Abai are submissive" (*ABL.*, 509, rv. 7).

[2] *ZA.*, XIII, pp. 64 f.

SYRIA ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA.

The old Armenian Abunis would rather remind us of the city of Abbûni, ^{al}Ab-bu-ú-ni, Johns, *ADD.*, [361] K. 302, obv. 2, although their identity may be doubtful.

ABANI

^{nâr}A.BA.NI: [781] K. 823, rv. 5.

From the references in this letter it appears that Abani was a river of Upper Elam between the cities of Laḫiru and Bît-Imbia, probably a northwestern tributary of the river Uknu.

ABDUDI

^{al}AB.DU.DI: [158] K. 530, obv. 7.

Johns[1] proposes to read this sign Ab as eš or aš(?). This is possible in view of the fact that ^{mât}Ab-nu-nak, Cyr. cyl. 31; Ab-nun-na-ki, IV R. 36, No. 1, obv. 6. 29, and ^{mât}Aš-nun-na-ak, Ag. 1: 36, are probably identical, and the character Ab not only has the value Eš but also Aš. But a city Ašdudi or Ešdudi is not known in southern Babylonia, and we may therefore as well read the name Abdudi, until new discoveries may throw light upon the reading of this name. It can in no way be identified with the city of Asdudi in Philistia.

From the context of this letter it is clear that the city of Abdudi was situated near the land of Ru'a and the city of Dêr. That city is probably identical with Dur-ili,[2] in the neighborhood of which the people of Ru'a lived. To this vicinity the city of Abdudi must therefore be assigned.

ADARIḪITI

^{al}A.DA.RI.ḪI.TI: [771] 81-1-18, 49, obv. 8.

Nothing is known of this city except the reference to it in this letter. From the context it seems as if it were situated in a ^{mât}Za-(a?-)-me. This letter was written by Bêl-iḳbi and an officer from Gambul. Near that land was a city ^{al}Za-a-me-e, belonging to Puḳudu[3] and located on the shore (šiddi) of the river Uknu.[4] The two names Za-a-me may be identical, al-

[1] *AJSL.*, XXII, p. 229. [2] See Johnston, *Epistolary Lit.*, p. 166. [3] *Sarg. Annals*, 267. [4] *Sarg. Annals*, 274.

though it should be observed, that it denotes in our letter a land,[1] while in the annals of Sargon it appears as a city. But the change between the city and land determinatives is quite frequent in the inscriptions, and "land" often denotes only a city district.

ADIA

^{al}A.DI.A: [683] R^{m} 550, rv. 6

According to this letter, the city of Adia was situated near the city of Nineveh. Šamši-Adad IV[2] says that it had revolted against Shalmaneser II and according to the order in that text it lay between Nineveh and Šibaniba; the latter city lay near the river Ḫusur, and Adia should therefore be located toward the southeast of Nineveh and between that city and the river Ḫusur. This agrees with the reference to it in the *Contracts*.[3] Whether ^{al}A-di . . . in Knudtzon's[4] texts is identical with this Adia, is uncertain but it is probable. In the *Contracts* occurs also a city Adian,[5] which, according to II R. 53, 1:29, should be located near Kalaḫ, and may be identical with Adia.

After the fall of Nineveh Adia became quite important, and in the Greek period it was the capital of a province, named after it—Adiabene[6]—including the district between the Tigris, Upper Zâb and the Ḫusur valley, bordering to the south on Arbelitis, to the east on Calacene and to the north on Gorduene.[7] The ruins of Nineveh and Dûr-Šarrukîn lay within its boundaries.

ADINNU

^{al}A.DI.I[N.NU]: [500] K. 1303, obv. 6; [a]^{l}A-ti-nu [762] R^{m} 2, 529, rv. 7

The identification of these two names is quite certain from the monolith inscription of Shalmaneser II,[8] compared with the Annals of Tiglath-Pileser III.[9] It was a city in the land of Hamath of

[1] It appears also as a land ^{mât}Za-me-[e?] in *ABL.*, [754] K. 5457, obv. 17.

[2] ^{al}A-di-a, Šamši-Adad 1:45.

[3] ^{al}A-di-a, Johns, *ADD.*, [741] K. 4291, obv. 29. [4] *Gebete*, 145, L. K. 1.

[5] ^{al}A-di-an, Johns, *ADD.*, [350] 83-1-18, 335, obv. 7; [396] K. 3495, rv. 4; [443] Bu. 91-5-9, 95, obv. 6; [1116] K. 9858, obv. 4; II R. 53, 1:29.

[6] Pliny vi, 12; Amm. Marc. xxiii, 6.

[7] Dion. Cass. lxviii; Ptol. vi, 1, 2, mention it as a small province between the Tigris, Lycus (Upper Zâb) and the Gordiaean Mountains.

[8] ^{al}A-di-en-nu, Shalm. II, Mon. 2:88. [9] ^{al}A-ti-in-ni, TP. III, An. 130.

Northern Syria. Sachau[1] identified it with the modern Tell-Loṭmîm,[2] northeast of Hamath. Tomkins[3] compared it with '-ty-ny of the inscriptions of Thutmoses III,[4] but the Egyptian spelling would rather suggest i-sa-na than A-di-en-nu or A-ti-in-ni.

Ai

^{mât}AI: [107] K. 4304, obv. 8, [159] K. 1025, obv. 7, [434] Bu. 89-4-26, 163, obv. 10, 21, [556] K. 683, obv. 21; $^{amêl\ mât}$Ai, [128] K. 650, obv. 5, [174] K. 619, rv. 12; [713] R^{m} 59, obv. 5; ^{mât}Ai, TP. III, Pl. No. 2, l. 14; Abp. Cyl. B. 3:102; II R. 52, 1:4, 37; 2:8, 17, 18, 24, 25, 28, 29, 31; II R. 53, 1:14.

As early as 1881 Delitzsch[5] read this name as ^{mât}Ai, and combined with it the mountain ^{šad}A-ja[6] in Kurdistan. Later he has recognized in ^{mât}Ai the land of Umliaš,[7] on the border of Elam, near the Persian Gulf.

Hommel,[8] on the contrary, identified ^{mât}Ai with ^{mât}Madai on the strength of the passage in the Ashurbanipal Cylinder, because that king speaks of the "city-lord" of that land, a title that is otherwise used of Median princes. It should be noted, however, that Ashurbanipal has here the common ideogram for ḫazânu 'prefect, mayor,' used by the Assyrians for any city mayor.

Johns[9] has called my attention to an ^{amêl}Ai, occurring in *ABL.*, No. 715 (K. 7851, rv. 5); on account of the mutilated text of this letter I did not feel warranted in classifying it in my "Geographical List" under this name, for I was not certain that it was gentilic. However, I prefer his reading to Streck's[10] ^{amêl}Ai-bi-la-ni, for which there is no other corroboration. If this passage refers to ^{mât}Ai, then the question of reading the name of this land would be settled, but in view of the mutilated text it is safer not to depend upon it.

[1] *ZA.*, XII, 47; see also Hartmann, *ZDPV.*, XXII, p. 145.

[2] الاطميم of al-Ja'qûbi. [3] *TSBA.*, IX, pp. 257 ff. [4] Karnak list No. 263.

[5] *Paradies*, p. 247; so also Delattre, *Le peuple et l'empire de Mèdes*, p. 84, note.

[6] TP. I, 3:42, 59.

[7] Del., *Ass. Gram.*, p. 18; Delitzsch-Mûrdter, *Geschichte*, p. 175; see Brünnow, *Classified List*, No. 11693; why Delitzsch renders it 'Wasserland' is not clear to me. The use of the signs A.A do not prove it, for it is not known that the people of ^{mât}Ai were Sumerians; nor has it been shown that Umliaš means 'Water-land.'

[8] *Geschichte*, p. 727, note 2. [9] *AJSL.*, XXII, p. 229. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 223

Streck[1] identifies ^{mât}Ai with Madai on the supposition that in *ABL.*, No. 174 (K. 619, rv. 12) an $^{amêl\ mât}$Ai is mentioned, and that in the same letter the lands of Ellipi and Šungibutu are also mentioned, and that therefore ^{mât}Ai should be placed near Ellipi, because Madai lay near that land. There is, however, quite a difference between the "man" of a land and the land itself, and even if this officer from ^{mât}Ai should have happened to live or travel near Ellipi, which is not claimed in this letter, it does not in any wise follow that the land of Ai was located near Ellipi, and even if that be the case, it does not follow that it is identical with Madai.

There has been a good deal of uncertainty in the minds of many scholars whether we should read this name Ai (= A-a) and give its first sign ^{mât} its usual determinative value, or should consider the first sign as a part of the name of this land, reading it Mad-ai, and regard the absence of the land determinative as a lapsus calami of the scribes. Taking into consideration that these "lapses" are quite numerous, and that most of these references can hardly apply to Media, it seems to me that we are here dealing not with Media proper, or Media Magna of the Classics, but rather with a land that was originally called Ai, and it was therefore treated as a separate land in my "Geographical List,"[2] although I was long before well aware of Streck's[3] postulate "that the only permissible reading is Mat-ai, which is incontrovertibly certain." As the land of Šungibutu is also mentioned in the same letter, there seems to be no cogent reason why the man from Ai should not be a neighbor of Šungibutu as well as of Ellipi, if that kind of argument suffices to settle Assyrian geographical questions.

Streck[4] also lays great stress upon the fact that Sennacherib, Cyl. A^{I}, col. II, 30, reads ^{mât}Ai, while the same passage in Cyl. A^{II} reads ^{mât}Ma-da-ai. But how often are such mistakes of the Assyrian scribes not to be taken into account? On the other hand it is not unlikely that at this time Madai had encroached

[1] *ZA.*, XV, p. 373. [2] *AJSL.*, XXI, p. 83.

[3] *ZA.*, XV, p. 373, "Die alleinige Berechtigung der Lesung Mat-ai steht jetzt unumstösslich fest."

[4] *ZA.*, XV, p. 373.

upon and extended into a part of the southern ^{mât}Ai, and that therefore the scribe could use both names truthfully, Ai denoting the old name of the land, Madai representing the new lords of the same land.

We know that ^{mât}Ai was the older name of the land of Umliaš[1] or at least a part of that land, and we are able to locate that land. It lay on the north shore of the river Uknu (Kercha), opposite Puḳudu, and Sargon mentions a river ^{nâr}Um-li-aš,[2] which, if not identical with lower Uknu, was a tributary of the same, and evidently ran through the land of Umliaš, after which it was named.[3]

It can further be proved that Umliaš is not identical with Media, for Tiglath-Pileser III, according to his Annal-inscription,[4] marches from Media to Umliaš and his route is given as follows: Bît-Taz-zak-ki, ^{mât}Ma-da-ai, ^{mât}Bît-Zu-al-za-aš, ^{mât}Bît-Ma-at-ti, ^{mât}Um-li-ia-aš. Two other questions must be taken account of in this connection: (1) did the Assyrians pronounce the determinative before a proper name? (2) do all references to ^{mât}Ai apply to this land in or near Umliaš?

1. The first question should be answered in the affirmative at least as far as it concerns gentilic and geographical names, just as in Hebrew אִישׁ and אֶרֶץ appear before the name of the land. The *Nisbeh*-form is therefore in some instances used instead of the determinative. This would apply to the Mât and al determinatives, and enclitic ki was undoubtedly pronounced in Sumerian. In cases where the determinative appears in plural like $^{mât\text{-}mât}$Na-i-ri,[5] this writing becomes unintelligible if the determinative be not pronounced. But if the determinative was pronounced when standing in the plural it follows that it must also be pronounced when it stands in the singular, and it would then correspond to our enclitic *land*, as in Eng-*land*, the Nether-*lands*, etc.

Applying this rule to our case, we should understand the

[1] Brünnow, *Classified List*, No. 11693. [2] *An.* 266.

[3] Jensen's location of Umliaš (*ZA.*, XV, p. 221) in the far east, and in any event east of the Zagros Mountain cannot be proved and seems contrary to the facts.

[4] L. 158; other references to ^{mât}Um-li-ia-aš are: TP. IV, Pl. I, 17; Pl. II, 19; Thon. obv. 29, 35; cf. also *BM.*, No. 33225, 33232, 33234; Bu. 91-5-9, 410, 691, 1155, where it is identified with Ab-nun-na^{ki}, and IV R. 35, 5:7, where it is identified with Nun-ki-ga.

[5] TP. I, 4:83 and often.

Assyrians as reading and speaking of Mât Ai, well understanding that Ai was the name of the land in question. If a new people settles in such a territory, it might incorporate the determinative into the old name of the land, and thus the district of ^{mât}Bît-Ma-at-ti may be a remainder of the old ^{mât}Ai, all of which was treated by the new Aryan settlers as a proper name.

2. The references in the historical inscriptions can hardly apply to the land of Ai on the bank of Uknu.

Tiglath-Pileser III, who often mentions Madai and its districts, most of them situated between lake Urmia and Ḫarḫar, refers to ^{mât}Ai[1] in a list of what are mostly Urarṭean cities and districts. Now it is certain that Urarṭu did not extend down to the river Uknu on the border of Elam, and we must therefore look for this ^{mât}Ai somewhere further north, on the border of Urarṭu, in the neighborhood of Muṣaṣir.

Ashurbanipal,[2] returning from his conquest of the land of Manna, attacked Birishadri (^{m}Bi-ri-is-ḫa-ad-ri), prefect of ^{mât}Ai and also Šarati and Pirihia, sons of Gagi and prefects of ^{mât}Saḫi, captured seventy-five of their stronghold cities and brought their prefects to Nineveh. The march of the Assyrian army goes consequently from Manna, on the western coast of Lake Urmia, westward to Nineveh. ^{mât}Ai must therefore be located somewhere between Ḫubuški and Manna. Media is not mentioned in the inscriptions of Ashurbanipal for the simple reason that it had, in the early part of the reign of Esarhaddon,[3] torn itself away from Assyria and was now so strong that the Assyrian king never attempted to subdue it. Media is at this time the land south of Lake Urmia toward Ḫarḫar and east thereof, and can therefore in no wise be identified with this ^{mât}Ai west of Manna.

These conclusions are fully substantiated by the references in the Letter-literature to the land of Ai. These letters know also of the land of Madai (^{mât}Ma-da-ai, K. 617, obv. 8; ^{mât}Ma-

[1] Pl. No. 2, l. 14. [2] Cyl. B, 3:102.

[3] See the references to ^{mât}Madai in Knudtzon's *Gebete an den Sonngott*. According to Herodotus (i, 95–103) Dejokes became king of the Medes in 709 B. C., Dejokes reigning 53 years, 709–656; Fraortes 22 years, 656–634; Kyaxeres 40 years, 634–594; Astyages 35 years, 594–559/558 B. C. According to Herod. i. 132 the Median empire was established 128 years before the overthrow of Astyages, i. e. in 678 B. C.

ta-ai, K. 609, obv. 6), which must be identified with Media Magna, but whenever they refer to ^{mât}Ai, we are in most cases forced to look for it in the neighborhood of Manna, and the probability is that this holds good in all cases. *ABL.*, No. 434 is of especial interest because it gives us the following order: Urarṭu, Manna, Ai, Ḫubuški. *ABL.*, No. 556 likewise mentions Ai together with Manna, and *ABL.*, No. 107 mentions it together with Dûr-Šarrukîn.

We have therefore in the inscriptions two different lands, called Ai, one ^{mât}Ai on the northern bank of Uknu, which in the historical period was called Umliaš, and one ^{mât}Ai east of Ḫubuški, in the land of Ḫaria, around ^{šad}Aja. In all probability the latter was a colony from the former. Moses of Chorene[1] tells us that the native name of Armenia is Haja-stân (= "the land of Haja"), and that this name originated from a certain Hai-kh, who became the leader of his oppressed people and with them emigrated from their former home near the Persian Gulf, settling in the Kurdaean mountains between Van and Urmia. The Armenian Haja or Hai represents so closely the Assyrian Aja and Ai, that an identification of the two is not only possible, but probable, and this Armenian tradition may be entitled to a place in the history of the two lands of Ai. Ai or Aja may have the same relation to Hajastân, as the god Ḫaldia of Muṣaṣir has to another name of Armenia, namely, Chaldia,[2] but Muṣaṣir was a neighbor district southeast of ^{mât}Ai.

What is said above in regard to pronouncing the land determinative before the name holds good also in this case, and it is probable that in the Greek period Mât Ai or Mâd Ai was understood as a proper noun and identified with Media, and that this was probably the case even in the Sargon period among peoples who did not know the geography of the East. The Greeks knew not only of a *Media Magna*, but also of a *Media Atropatene*. This latter land is located by Strabo[3] on the east of Matiene, and later on he makes Matiene the western province of Atropatene. In spite of Winckler's[4] and Streck's[5] opposition to this combina-

[1] I, 10. [2] Lehmann in *VBAG.*, 1895, p. 578. [3] xi, p. 523-29.
[4] *Geschichte Bab.*, p. 202. [5] *ZA.*, XV, pp. 372 f.

tion, it seems to me very probable that we should in this *Matiana* or *Matiene*[1] recognize the Assyrian Mât Ai. Herodotus' location of the mountains of *Matiene*[2] in the southeastern part of Kurdistan agrees precisely with our location of ^{mât}Ai.

AKBANU

^{mât}AK.BA.NU: [520] K. 680, obv. 7, 11.

This land, and the land of 'Alê, are said to be located "on the other shore of the river Tak-ka-?"[3] in the land of Elam. Neither of these localities is otherwise known. Sennacherib mentions, in his Taylor cylinder, an Elamite city, ^{al}Ak-ka-ba-ri-na,[4] but whether that city was located in the land of Akbanu or identical with it, cannot at present be decided.

AKIMADÊ

^{al}A.KI.MA.DI.E: [328] K. 638, rv. 21.

Nothing is known of this city outside the mention of it in this letter, but as this letter deals with affairs in Elam, which is referred to several times, it was undoubtedly an Elamite city.

AKKADÎ

^{mât}AKKADÎ^{ki}: [9] K. 618, rv. 5; [46] K. 939*a*, obv. 13, 19, 22, [50] K. 1242, rv. 2, [149] K. 540, obv. 9 [223] K. 112, obv. 13, [266] K. 79, obv. 10, [269] K. 528, rv. 9, [358] R^{m} 76, obv. 8, [437] K. 168, rv. 9, 19, [444] K. 645, obv. 4, [474] 81-2-4, 67, obv. 7, [518] 83-1-18, 27, rv. 8, [539] K. 17, obv. 17, rv. 24, [540] K. 87, rv. 3, [542] K. 114, rv. 23, [622] K. 1210, rv. 4, [716] K. 31, obv. 7, rv. 7, [760] R^{m} 2, 7, obv. 6, [815] 48-7-20, 116, rv. 11, 15, [841] K. 4757, rv. 19; ^{mât}Ak-ka-di-i, [7] K. 601, obv. 16, rv. 8, [435] Bu. 89-4-26, 161, rv. 10.

For other references compare the following:

Ḫala-lama, ^{ki}Akkadî, SD. 21, 4, col. 2:2.

Ur-Engur, ^{ki}Akkadî, I R. 1, No. 5:9; 6:6; 7:6; 8:6; 9:3.

Dungi, ^{ki}Akkadî, I R. 2, No. II, 1:4; 2:4; 3:6.

Gamil-Ninib, ^{ki}Akkadî, IV R. 35, No. 5:11; I R. II, No. 5, 1:9.

Ḫammurabi, ^{ki}Akkadî, *Letters* 62:15, 23; 61:18; 100:5; ^{mât}Ak-ka-di-im, *Letters* 94:21; 95:12, 21, 32, 39; $^{ma\text{-}at}$Ak-ka-di-im, *Code* 5:9; 40:52.

[1] Ματιανή, Strabo ii, p. 73; xi, p. 509; Steph. B.; Ματιηνή, Herodotus v, 52; iii, 94; vii, 72.

[2] τὰ Ματιηνὰ ὄρη, Herodotus i, 189, 202; v, 52; this should not be confounded with the Mantiana of Strabo, which should rather be compared with the Manda, Umman-Manda; see Ritter, *Erdkunde*, IX, p. 786.

[3] ^{mât}Ak-ba-nu ù ^{mât}'-li-e a-ḫu ul-lu-u ša ^{nâr}Tak-ka-?, K. 680, obv. 7-9.

[4] *IR.* 40, L. 58.

Agum-Kakrime, Ak-ka-di-i, 1:32.

Karaindaš, Akkadî, IV R. 36, No. 3:7.

Burnaburiaš, ^{ki}Akkadî, I R. 4, No. 10:10.

Kurigalzu, ^{ki}Akkadî, I R. 4, No. 14, 2; 5; 3:8.

Nabukadrezzar I, ^{mât}Akkadî^{ki}, V R. 55, 1:13, 44; 2:12.

Tukulti-Ninib[1] I, ^{mât}Akkadî^{ki}, K. 2673, obv. 4; 82–7–4, 38, obv. 10; ^{mât}Akkadî, III R. 4, No. 2, obv. 4.

Tiglath-Pileser I, Akkadî^{ki}, *Syn. Hist.* 2:33; ^{mât}Akkadî^{ki}, Brok. ob. 1:16; [^{mât}Ak-]ka-di-i, Brok. ob. 4:38.

Adad-Nirari II, ^{mât}Akkadî^{ki}, *Syn. Hist.* 3:19.

Shalmaneser II, ^{mât}Ak-ka-di-e, Balw. 4:2; *An.* 77.

Šamši-Adad IV, ^{mât}Ak-ka-di-i, 2:11; Akkad^{ki}, 4:22.

Adad-Nirari III, Akkadî^{ki} I R. 35, 3:20.

Tiglath-Pileser IV, ^{mât}Akkadî^{ki}, Pl. I, 1; Pl. II, 2; Thon. obv. 1.

Sargon II, Akkadî^{ki}, *An.* 235; X:3, 123; ^{mât}Ak-ka-di-e, *An.* 233, 241, 314.

Sennacherib, Akkadî^{ki}, I R. 40:36; 41:18.

Esarhaddon, Akkadî^{ki}, B. S. 1:4, 8.

Ashurbanipal, ^{mât}Akkadî^{ki}, 3:97; 6:8, 13; 7:92; 10:124; Akkadî^{ki}, 4:41.

Šamaš-šum-ukin, Akkadî^{ki}, Cyl. I:11, 17; Akkadî^{ki}-ra, Bil. 1:5; Ak-ka-di-i, Cyl. I:19; Bil. 2:5, 10.

Nabû-apil-iddin, ^{mât}Akkadî^{ki}, V R. 60, No. 1:5; No. 2:30; No. 3:13.

Merodak-Baladan, ^{mât}Akkadî^{ki}, I:17, 28, 46; III:14.

Nabukadrezzar II, $^{ma\text{-}da}$Ak-ka-di-im, I R. 66:16.

Nabupalassar, $^{ma\text{-}da}$Ak-ka-di-im, *ZA.*, II, p. 129, l. 12; Ak-ka-di-i, *ZA.*, II, p. 172, 1:5.

Nabuna'id, ^{ki}Akkadî, Stela, col. II, ll. 20, 21.

Cyrus, Ak-ka-di-i, Cyl. 20; ^{mât}Akkadî^{ki}, Cyl. 11, 18, 24, 33; ^{mât}Akkadî, Cyl. 10, 13 bis, 23.

Nabuna'id-Cyrus-Chronicle, ^{mât}Akkadî^{ki}, B:5, 10; ^{mât}Akkadî, B:14, 19, 22, 23.

Babylonian Chronicle, ^{mât}Akkadî^{ki}, 84–2–11, 356, 1:3, 25, 26, 30; 2:40.

King, *Creation Tablets*, ^{mât}Akkadî^{ki}, p. 212, l. 26; p. 211, l. 18; Ak-ka-di-i, p. 147, l. 20, note l. 16.

Thompson, *RMA.*, Akkadî^{ki} 29:3, 4; 35, rv. 2; 90, obv. 7; 266 B, obv. 7, 8; ^{mât}Akkadî^{ki}, 31, obv. 4; 34, obv. 7; 41, rv. 6; 42, obv. 7; 43, rv. 5; 86, obv. 7; 88, obv. 7; 89, obv. 3; 95, rv. 6; 107, rv. 7; 119, rv. 1, 3; 124, obv. 7, 9; 125, obv. 3; 127, obv. 5, 7; 128, obv. 8, rv. 3; 129, obv. 3, 5; 130 A, obv. 3, 4; 131, obv. 9, rv. 2; 132, obv. 5; 133, obv. 4, 6; 134, rv. 3, 5; 135, obv. 3, 4; 135 A, obv. 3, 5; 136, obv. 2, 4; 136 A, obv. 2, 4; 136 B, obv.

[1] Ninib is to be read either Pir and then be compared with the Moabitic god Peor, or Ninus. On the latter form see *AC.*, I, p. 147.

6, 7; 136 D, obv. 3, 5; 136 E, obv. 9, rv. 3; 136 F, rv. 4; 136 G, obv. 3, 4; 136 H, obv. 2, 3; 136 I, obv. 3, 5; 136 L, obv. 3, 5; 136 M, obv. 2, 3; 136 N, obv. 2; 136 P, obv. 3; 136 R, rv. 2; 137, obv. 2; 138, obv. 3, 4; 138 A, rv. 3, 5; 142, obv. 3, 5; 143, obv. 3; 144, obv. 5, 6; 144 B, rv. 3, 5; 145, rv. 2; 146, obv. 3; 147, obv. 2, 4; 148 [obv. 2, 4]; 151, obv. 11; 151 A, obv. 2, 4; 152, obv. 2, 5; 154, obv. 4, 6; 155, obv. 5, 7, 8; 155 A, obv. 3, 6; 166, rv. 3; 167 A, obv. 3; 169, rv. 3; 183, rv. 5; 185, obv. 7, 9, rv. 4; 187, obv. 6 bis; 187 A, obv. 6; 193, obv. 8, rv. 1; 196, obv. 5, 7; 209, obv. 2; 232, obv. 10, 14; 234, obv. 5, 8; 235, obv. 9; 236 F, rv. 1; 241, rv. 2, 3; 242, obv. 6 bis; 243, rv. 5; 243 A, obv. 3, 4; 244 C, obv. 7; 265 A, obv. 3, 5; 268, obv. 11; 269, obv. 13, rv. 2; 270, obv. 3, rv. 11; 271, obv. 10, rv. 2, 3, 4, 11; 272, obv. 8, rv. 7 bis, 13. Šar Akkadî^{ki}, 31, obv. 7; 34, obv. 5; 35, obv. 6, 9; 38, obv. 4, 7; 44, rv. 4; 91, obv. 4; 92, obv. 3; 94, obv. 4; 96 A, obv. 3; 96 B, obv. 2; 105, rv. 6; 110, obv. 3; 111, obv. 4; 112, obv. 2; 112 B, obv. 3; 113, obv. 5; 114, obv. 2; 114 A, obv. 2; 115 C, obv. 2; 117, obv. 4; 119, obv. 3; 186, obv. 5; 188, obv. 4; 195, rv. 6; 201, rv. 1; 207, obv. 5; 231, obv. 4; 246 C, rv. 3. Ak-ka-du-u, 152, rv. 4.

Johns, *ADD.*, Akkadî^{ki}, 669, obv. 4.

The sign for Akkadî was pronounced Ti-il-la,[1] which was the original name of this land. Akkadî is the *Nisbeh*-form, indicating that this land was named after or belonged to the goddess Agade (or Ninâ). Her city, Ninâ^{ki}(?) was a sister-city of Gir-Su^{ki} (or Su-gir^{ki} = Su(m)-gir^{ki}, Su(n)-gir^{ki}, Śumir^{ki}), and it seems probable that the term Šumir u Akkadî originally designated these two cities.

Akkadî designated southern Babylonia, and the city of Erech belonged to it.[2] It should not be confused with the city of Akkad, which never occurs in the *Nisbeh*-form; nor should it be confused with ^{mât}Akada-ai, which was an older name of the land of Urarṭu.

Šamaš-udaninani was governor of Akkadî and Eponym in the year 644 B. C.

AKKAD

^{al}AK.Kad: [337] D. T. 98, obv. 6, 8, [246] 83-1-18, 146, obv. 5, 7, 10, 13, rv. 4; ^{al}Ak-kad-e, [629] K. 1263, obv. 10; ^{al}Ak-ka-di, [46] K. 939*a*, obv. 8, 11, [594] K. 1118, rv. 2.

Nebukadrezzar I. ^{al}Ak-ka-di, V R. 55, col. 2:50.

Johns, *ADD.*, ^{al}Ak-kad, 930, col. II: 2, 6; col. III: 7.

[1] II R. 48, obv. 12.

[2] Nabû-ušabši calls Erech a city of ^{mât}Akkadî^{ki}, *ABL.*, 266, obv. 10 and 13.

It seems probable, but it is not certain, that this city is identical with the city of A-ga-de, capital of Sargon I.

AGADE

Sargon I, Agade^{ki}, *PSBA.*, 1885, p. 68:3; III R. 4, No. 7, col. I:26; *Cat. de Clerq*, I, Pl. V, No. 461, l. 3; *OBI.*, No. 1, l. 6; No. 2, l. 5; No. 3, l. 3; C. J. Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 52, l. 3; *RA.*, IV, p. 8, col. I, l. 3.

Narâm-Sin, A-ga-de^{ki} *RA.*, IV, p. 11, l. 3; *RA.*, III, Pl. VII, No. 22, l. 2, No. 23, l. 3, No. 26, l. 1; *Rec. de Trav.*, XIX, p. 187.

Ḫammurabi, A-ga-de^{ki}, *Code*, 4:50.

Nabuna'id, A-ga-de^{ki}, I R. 69, col. 2: 29, 48.

Cyrus, A-ga-de^{ki}, Cyl., l. 31.

Tallquist, *Maqlû*, A-ga-de^{ki}, 2:177.

The city of Agade was a sister-city of Sippara. The deity of this city was originally Ištar of Agade, who was replaced by Anunît.[1]

The temple of Agade was Bît Ul-maš (Nabuna'id's Sippara-inscription, II: 29, 35, 42, 44, 50; *Code of Ḫammurabi*, IV: 49).

As temple towers (ziggurâti) of Agade the following are known:

Bît-Su-gal, ziggurat of ^{ilu}Tur-zi (II R. 50, No. 1:10).

Bît-Bár-ši-é-di (II R. 50, No. I: 11.

ALZI

^{mât}AL.ZI: [444] K. 645, obv. 10

The land of Alzi became Assyrian territory as early as the time of Tukulti-Ninib I,[2] who captured this land, mentioning it between the lands of Munnu and Madani. These lands are both situated north of the Tigris and the land of Šubria, and Madani must be located on the eastern shore of the upper Tigris, opposite Daria, and identical with the land of Madni of the inscriptions of Ašurnaṣirpal.[3]

In the time of Tiglath-Pileser I,[4] the Muški people had conquered this land and the land of Puruḳumzi, but this Assyrian king succeeded in recapturing it.[5] On this expedition Tiglath-Pileser I reached the land of Alzi from Šubari,[6] which he first had to conquer. But the land of Šubari, afterward called

[1] Compare I R. 69, col. 2:48 with col. 3:28.

[2] *An.*, obv. 15.

[3] *An.* 2:110, 113.

[4] *An.* 1:64.

[5] TP. I, *An.* 2:90; Sm. 1874, obv. 24.

[6] *An.* 2:84.

Šubria, extended along the northern bank of the Tigris[1] (eastward course), and Alzi must consequently be north of Šubari and also north of Madni (or Madani). Following the Tigris in its upper north-south course, we have first Šubria opposite Bît-Zamâni and Amedi, then Madni opposite Daria and mount Argania, and finally Alzi, east of the Tigris, opposite Enzite.

This is corroborated by the inscriptions of Shalmaneser II. That king had again to recapture the land of Alzi,[2] and he reaches it, coming from the city of Pitura, through the mountain pass of Alzi, and from this land he proceeds to the lands of Suḫni and Daiaeni. The city of Pitura was only a night's march[3] from Tušḫa, which was located on the southern shore of the Tigris, opposite the mouth of the river Kallama,[4] and the city of Pitura was most probably located on the western shore of this river, a little north of the city of Arbaki.[5] The land of Suḫni[6] or Suḫme[7] was situated on the northern shore of the Euphrates, opposite Enzite, Ḳireḳi and Alzi. All the inscriptions of Shalmaneser II agree, that this king did not cross the Tigris on his march from Pitura to Suḫme and Daiaeni, and that Alzi must consequently lie east of the Tigris.

In *ABL.*, 444, is a report concerning a meeting of five governors (bêl paḫâti) in the city of Uesi, and among these governors is Siplia[8] of Alzi, and this land is here mentioned between the lands of Ḳaniun and Armiraliu, which are both Urarṭean domains, and the former of these was located not far to the south of Ṭurušpâ.

All references to this land agree, therefore, in locating it east of the Tigris. This is important, because it cannot then be identical with Enzi or Enzite, as Streck[9] proposes, claiming that *e* was changed to *a* and *n* to *l*, without giving any evidence

[1] Opposite [al]Tušḫa; see *Anp. An.* 2:8, 12; cf. also Knudtzon, *Gebete*, sub Šupria.

[2] Shalmaneser II, *An.* 42 bis; Layard 12:18.

[3] Ašurnaṣirpal III, *An.* 2:104. [4] TP. IV, Pl. I, l. 35.

[5] Ašurnaṣirpal III, *An.* 2:112, 116; Mon., rev. 30, 34, 49.

[6] mât Su-uḫ-ni, Shalm. II, Layard 12:19; *An.* 45.

[7] mât Su-uḫ-me, Shalm. II, Mon. 2:45 bis, 46; from these inscriptions it is certain that the two names indicate the same land.

[8] m Si-ip-li-a. [9] *ZA.*, XIII, p. 94.

that such changes occur in the old Armenian language. This theory, improbable at first sight, must now be permanently discarded on account of the researches of Belck,[1] who has found in the Armenian geographical literature that there were two provinces, Enzi and Alzi, and that it was first in the Greek period that Alzi was included in the province of Anzitene.[2]

AMPIḪÂBINI

^{mât}Am.PI.ḪA.A.BI.NI: [802] 81-7-27, 39, obv. 6.

Nothing else is known of this land, nor does this letter help us assign a position to it. The scribe of this letter is Šamaš-bel-uṣur, and if he should be identical with one of the governors of Kirruri or Arzuḫina, who were Eponyms in 708 and 710 B. C. respectively, we may presume that he wrote concerning some land near their domains, probably in Media Atropatene.

Streck[3] compares it with ^{al}Am-pi-ḫa-bi, K. 4785, l. 26.

The reading of the first sign is uncertain. Streck[4] suggests Am, which I have here adopted.

AMURRÛ

^{mât}A.MUR.RU.U: [337] D. T. 98, rv. 14, [629] K. 1263, obv. 21; ^{mât}Mar-tu^{ki}, [38] K. 1049, rv. 4, [337] D. T. 98, rv. 13, [407] 83-1-18, 40, rv. 2, [629] K. 1263, obv. 16, 17; ^{mât}Mar-tu, [357] D. T. 98, rv. 13, [629] K. 1263, obv. 19, [679] 83-1-18, 61, obv. 9; ^{mât}Mar^{ki} [137] K. 467, obv. 10, 14.

Mar-tu^{ki} and Amurrû are two names, used in the Cuneiform inscriptions to denote the land of Syria-Palestine, and especially the land ruled by the city of Damascus.

This name belonged, however, originally to a district west of Sippara. In a contract tablet,[5] dated in the reign of Ammisadugga (1980–1959),[6] a region near Sippara is called Amurrû, and in another tablet[7] of this period we find this name identified with Mar-tu^{ki}. The latter name means originally the "West

[1] *Beiträge*, p. 75.

[2] Ἀνζηται, Ptolemy 13: 19, see below under Enzi.

[3] *AJSL.*, XXII, p. 217. [4] *Ibidem.*

[5] Meissner, *Beiträge z. altbab. Privatrecht*, No. 42.

[6] For the dates of the Ḫammurabi Dynasty, cf. my *Ancient Chronology*, I, pp. 73-82.

[7] *Ibidem*, No. 72.

land." Paton[1] takes this to indicate that this district of Sippara as well as Syria-Palestine was peopled by Amorites in the great migration, which he designates as the "Amoritic," and which he regards as having come up from Arabia. This is, however, impossible, because the origin of the cuneiform signs for the cardinal points must antedate the "Amorite" migration by many centuries, if not millennia. Nor is it likely that the Kiengi people, when they invented the cuneiform signs, knew of Syria-Palestine and designated it as the "West-land" (Mar-tu^{ki}), for Mar-tu^{ki} cannot indicate some land located somewhere in the west, but must be the land, where the god[2] or the genius of the west had his dwelling. That land must be in or near Babylonia, and a district near Sippara fits well, because we should expect that the cardinal points would refer to some temple with an ancient Sun-cult, like that of the Sun-city of Sippara. We may then conclude that Mar-tu^{ki} was the ancient Kiengi-name of a district, west of Sippara, and that the Semites called this district by the name of Amurrû. There is nothing whatever to prove that the Amorite migration came from Arabia, but there is a great probability that it originated in Babylonia, through pressure from Elam, because Babylonia was often the prey of Elamite conquerors, as in the time of Kudur-nankhundi, Kudur-Mabuk, and Kedorlaomer. Nor has it been proved that names from this time, compounded with Ammi, Abi, or Sumu, are specific Amorite or old Arabic names.[3]

Sargon of Akkad conquered the land of Martu in Syria and it was already at this time called Amurri, for he affixes the ending am to the ideograph Mar-tu, writing Mar-tu-am[4] which must be read Amurra-am.

Gudea[5] also knew of this land and mentions two of its moun-

[1] *The Early History of Syria and Palestine*, pp. 28, 29.

[2] A god ^{il}Mar-tu, identical with Adad or Ramman, is well known in the Cuneiform inscriptions, and in *ABL.*, 474, 81-2-4, 67, obv. 6, he is a god of Akkadî. According to TP. I, *An.* 4:87, he had a temple in the city of Aššur, and that temple is otherwise called the temple of Ramman (Adad). Jensen's (*ZA.*, XI, pp. 303 f.) and Zimmern's (*KAT.*^{3}, p. 433) theory that this god was a western importation to Babylonia and Assyria has not been proved, and is improbable.

[3] Paton, *The Early History of Syria and Palestine*, pp. 25 ff.

[4] R. A. IV, 3, Pl. IV, n. 17, l. 3; cf. Mar-tu-ne-ki-ma, *RA.*, IV, p. 76, n. 2.

[5] Cyl. B. 6:6, 14.

tains, Sub-sal-la and Ti-da-num.[1] Kudur-Mabuk[2] calls himself ad-da of ^{mât}Mar-tu.

Ḫammurabi[3] calls himself king of Mar-[tu^{ki}] and mentions Sinidinnam[4] as governor (GAL) of Mar-tu.[5] Ammiditana[6] is also king of this land.

In the Amarna period this land is referred to as ^{mât}Mar-tu,[7] ^{mât}Amurru,[8] and ^{al}Amurra.[9] The readings A-mu-ri and A-mu-ur-ra settle the question whether we should read the middle sign ḫar or mur. Abd-^{ilu}-Aš-ra-tum was its king and he was succeeded by his son Aziru. His residence was the city of Amurri, but we infer that the land, of which the city of Amurri was the capital, consisted of several provinces, because these letters speak of the lands (mâtâte) of Amurri. Near this land were the cities of Nuḳašše, Qatna, Ṣumur, and Tunip.

The city of Damascus is called a city of ^{mât}Mar-tu^{ki},[10] but that city is otherwise known as the capital of ^{mât}Ša-imêri-šu[11] or "land of Damascus," and it seems therefore as if ^{mât}Mar-tu^{ki} and ^{mât}Ša-imêri-šu are equivalent terms.

Tiglath-Pileser I refers to the land of ^{mât}A-mur-ri;[12] and Ašurnaṣirpal[13] claims to have received tribute from it. Shalmaneser II overthrew the cities of ^{mât}A-mur-ri.[14] Adad-Nirari III conquered the lands of Ḫat-ti and A-mur-ri,[15] Ṣur-ra (Tyre), Ṣi-du-nu (Sidon) and Ḫu-um-ri-i (Samaria). At this time Amurri included neither the Hittites, the coast-cities, nor Samaria.

Sargon, on the other hand, ruled the "wide land" of ^{mât}Mar-tu^{ki},[16] and refers to the land of the Hittites as the land of

[1] Another mountain ^{šad}La-ḫi, is also said to lie in ^{mât}A-mur-ri-e.

[2] I R. 2, No. 3, l. 4. [3] *HL.*, No. 66, col. 2, l. 3. [4] *HL.*, No. 48, ll. 2, 5.

[5] The references of Kudur-Mabug and Ḫammurabi refer, however, undoubtedly to the land on the western bank of the lower Euphrates.

[6] *HL.*, No. 100, l. 7. [7] *AL.* 47:35; 46:24; 138:23.

[8] ^{mât}Amur-?, *AL.* 42:14; ^{mât}A-mur-ri, *AL.* 38:8, 15; 50: rv. 32; 57:15; 69:69; 75:63; 102:38; 112: rv. 7, 10; 124:5, 21, 29, 35; 129:24; 137:39; 143:24, 30; 258: rv. 3. ^{mât}A-mu-ri, *AL.* 59:48; 66:8; 90:8; ^{mâtât}A-mu-ri, *AL.* 44:15, 22; 127:9; ^{mât}A-mur-ra, *AL.* 78:10; 114:17.

[9] ^{al}A-mu-ur-ra, *AL.* 50, obv. 1. [10] Sargon, *An.* 52; XIV: 46.

[11] Adad-Nirari III, I R. 35, No. 1, l. 15. [12] Broken ob. 4:39.

[13] ^{mât}A-mur-ri, *An.* 3:85; ^{mât}A-mur-ra-ai, *An.* 3:86; No. 76, 4:26.

[14] Mon. 2:6; Balw. 2:2; ^{mât}Mar-tu^{ki}, Balw. 2:2.

[15] I R. 35, No. 1, l. 11. [16] X: 17; XIV: 46; *An.* 52.

^{mât}A-mur-ri-e.[1] He speaks of the language (li-ša-an) of ^{mât}Mar-tu^{ki},[2] which probably indicates the language of Syria.

Sennacherib conquered the land of Mar-tu^{ki}[3] and mentions as its cities ^{al}Sam-si-mu-ru-na-ai, ^{al}Ṣi-du-un-na-ai, ^{al}A-ru-da-ai, ^{al}Gu-ub-la-ai, ^{al}As-du-da-ai, Bît Am-ma-na-ai, ^{mât}Ma-'-ba-ai, ^{mât}U-du-um-ma-ai. Here are not only the coast cities of Phoenicia and Philistia, but also the trans-Jordanic lands of Moab and Ammon as well as Edom, included in ^{mât}Mar-tu.

Nebukadrezzar I,[4] Ašurbanipal,[5] Nabuna'id,[6] and Cyrus[7] refer also in their inscriptions to this land.

In the letters[8] this land is also called ^{mât}Mar^{ki}. From several references in the Astrological reports to the land of Mar-tu^{ki}, where that land is called ^{mât}Mar^{ki},[9] or even ^{mât}Mar, it is certain that this Mar^{ki}[10] is identical with Amurru. A list of references to this land in these Astrological reports[11] follows:

^{mât}A-mu-ri-e: [42] Sm. 1073, obv. 8; [43] K. 705, rv. 7; [98] K. 864, obv. 8.[12]

^{mât}A-mur-ri-i: [68] K. 774, obv. 2; [119] K. 703, rv. 3.

^{mât}A-mur[-ri-i]: [91] K. 86, obv. 2.

^{mât}Mar-tu^{ki}: [43] K. 705, obv. 7, rv. 5; [52 A] 81-2-4, 138, rv. 5; [80] K. 713 obv. 3; [80 A] 82-5-22, 72, obv. 3; [77] 83-1-18, 184, obv. 3; [78] K. 722, obv. 3; [79] 83-1-18, 173, obv. 4; [98] K. 864, obv. 7; [99] K. 771, rv. 2; [101] 81-2-4, 83, obv. 4, rv. 2, 4; [102] 83-1-18, 246, obv. 4; [103] Sm. 375, obv. 5; [107] Bu. 89-4-26, 166, obv. 10, rv. 5, 6; [157 B] K. 1369, obv. 6; [167] 80-7-19, 371, obv. 7, rv. 6, 9, 11, 12; [192] Bu. 89-4-26, 3, obv. 5; [193] 83-1-18, 179, obv. 2; [206] K. 731, obv. 10; [211] K. 758, rv. 1; [211 A] K. 12176, obv. 4; [222] 83-1-18, 181, rv. 2; [258] Sm. 1043, rv. 2; [268] K. 2085, obv. 5, 9, 12; [273] Sm. 231, obv. 3; [274 F] K. 1384, rv. 4, 5, 6.

^{mât}Mar-tu: [64 A] K. 1340, obv. 2; [67] 83-1-18, 194. obv. 3; [69 A] 80-7-19, 176, obv. 6; [79 A] K. 1407, obv. 3; [76] 83-1-18, 183, obv. 3; [100] K. 1405, rv. 4; [156] Bu. 91-5-9, 8, rv. 1, 2; [166] K. 694, rv. 3; [270] K. 955, rv. 11.

[1] *An.* 41. [2] X:161. [3] I R. 38:55.

[4] ^{mât}A-mur-ri-i, I:10. [5] ^{mât}Mar-tuki, *An.*, col. 8, l. 16.

[6] Nab.-Cyrus Chron. A: 15. [7] Cyl. C. 29. [8] *ABL.*, No. 137, obv. 10, 14.

[9] Thomps., *RMA.*, [25] K. 770, rv. 5; [88] K. 712, rv. 5; Šar Mar^{ki}, [56] K. 1341, obv. 5.

[10] [17] K. 803, rv. 3; [41] K. 791, rv. 7; [104] 81-2-4, 145, obv. 5; [271] K. 750, obv. 10.

[11] Thompson, *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers.*

[12] A gloss to the same line reads $^{ma-ta}$A-mur-ri-e.

Mar-tu^{ki}: [44] 80-7-19, 63, rv. 8; [63] K. 776, obv. 2; [64] 83-1-18, 298, obv. 2; [64 B] K. 1927, obv. 2; [65] 82-5-22, 50, obv. 5; [66] K. 809, obv. 2; [67] 83-1-18, 194, obv. 2; [69] 82-5-22, 49, obv. 2; [70] 81-2-4, 79, obv. 2; [69 A] 80-7-19, 176, obv. 2; [74] Rm. 203, obv. 5, rv. 1; [75] K. 695, obv. 2; [58] K. 693, obv. 4; [81 D] 80-7-19, 197, obv. 4; [81 K] K. 901, obv. 2; [87 A] K. 1007, obv. 4; [136 K] K. 1339, rv. 2; [137] K. 799, rv. 2, 4; [151] 81-2-4, 102, rv. 1; [234] 82-5-22, 46, rv. 2, 6; [262 B] K. 12555, obv. 2; [272 B] K. 702, obv. 4.

Mar-tu: [94] K. 120 A, rv. 7; [151] 81-2-4, 102, rv. 1; [269] K. 815, rv. 4, 9.

As the sign for mur has also the value ḫar, the name A-mur-ri was formerly read A-ḫar-ri[1] and supposed to denote the "hinterland" i. e., the "West-land."

In the letters, especially *ABL.*, No. 337 and No. 629, ^{mât}Mar-tu and ^{mât}A-mur-ru-u, appear together in a way, as if the latter were a part of the former,[2] and it has been suggested that we might read ^{mât}Martu as ^{mât}A-ḫar-ru, or the "West-land" ("hinterland").

The objections to a reading ^{mât}A-ḫar-ru are based chiefly on the following considerations:

1. In the O. T. the word אָחוֹר never denotes a land, a "hinterland" or a "West-land," i. e., it is not used as a geographical name in any sense; nor have I found this word so used in any other Semitic dialect. It is true that the *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, by Brown, Driver, and Briggs, p. 30, once claims the meaning "west"-land for 'aḫôr, viz., Is. 9:11, but it is probably wrong in the conception of this verse, for Isaiah says about Israel and Samaria: "*Aram from before and the Philistines from behind, and they shall devour Israel with open mouth.*" Although ḳedhem sometimes means 'east' it denotes also 'front, in front of,' and it is certain that Philistia was not to the west, but to the south of Israel and Samaria, and Damascus (and it is to this city "Aram" refers in this verse) was not to the east but to the north of Samaria. It is therefore evident that 'Aḫôr, even in this passage, cannot mean "west" or "west-land."

This dictionary also gives the meaning "western" to 'Aḫarôn (Deut. 11:24; 34:2; Job 2:20; Zech. 14:8), and compares it

[1] See Delitzsch, *HWB.*, sub A-ḫar-ri.

[2] See on this subject a note by R. F. Harper in *AJSL.*, April, 1899, p. 142.

with a supposed Assyrian ^{mât}Aḫarru, but it should be noted that all these passages deal with a "western (?) sea," not with any "west-land," and that although the Mediterranean may be called a "western sea," it does not prove that Palestine was called a "west-land." It should also be noted that the Hebrew form 'Aḫarôn cannot represent a supposed Ass. Aḫarru. It seems therefore, that if the Assyrians, who so often used the ideogram Mar-tu, read this as Aḫarru, there should be some trace of that name in the other Semitic dialects, *and especially so in Hebrew.*

2. In the Amarna period it is certain that the sign for mur (or ḫar) was read mu-ur or mu-ri and that Mar-tu and A-mur-ru-u or A-mu-ur-ra are then synonymous terms for the kingdom of Abd-Aširta and Aziru. There is nothing to prove that a different reading was adopted at a subsequent period. It should also be noted that the sons of Abd-Aširta and Aziru were in alliance with the Khabiri (or Hebrews).

3. Now the O. T., while it knows of no land called Akhôr, mentions frequently an "Amorite" land, the name being a *Nisbeh*, 'amorî, like the Assyrian Amurrû, and this land or people was conquered by the Hebrews. This name is used:[1] (*a*) of a pre-Israelitish people living east of the Jordan; Sennacherib also included Moab and Ammon in ^{mât}Mar-tu; (*b*) of a people west of Jordan; (*c*) of a southern people; Sennacherib included Edom in ^{mât}Martu; (*d*) of the ancient population of Canaan in general; Sennacherib included the coast cities of Phoenicia and Philistia in ^{mât}Mar-tu. It should be noticed that Sennacherib uses the name ^{mât}Mar-tu, where O. T. uses the term "the[2] Amorite."

4. The strongest evidence for reading this name Amurru instead of Aḫarru is perhaps furnished by the Egyptian inscriptions. These inscriptions know of no land Aḫarru or Aḫôr in Palestine or Syria, but they refer frequently to a land Amor. Thus Seti I speaks of the city of Kadesh in the land of Amor[3] (Y-m-r). Professor Breasted locates this Kadesh[4] in the moun-

[1] For biblical references, see *Encyclopedia Biblica*, article "Amorites."

[2] The article is used in the O. T. with this name everywhere, except Num. 21:29, Ezek. 16:45.

[3] Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, III, 141.

[4] *Ibid.*, note 1.

tains of Galilee, while W. Max Müller[1] contends that it is the Kadesh on the Orontes. Ramses II speaks of the "Shore in the land of Amor" ('-m-w-r'),[2] which here refers to the Phoenician coast, just as Sennacherib calls Arvad, Gubla, Sidon, and Tyre cities of ^{mât}Mar-tu. While Ramses II is at Kadesh on the Orontes, he receives recruits from the land of Amor.[3] In a list of cities conquered in northern Palestine, Ramses II mentions "Deper (D'-pw-r') in the land of Amor."[4] Breasted locates this city in the neighborhood of Tabor, but W. Max Müller places it further north near Kadesh.[5] In the reliefs of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, Amor appears between the Hittites and the Asiatics, the order being: Kheta, Amor,[6] Thekel, Sherden, Shasu, Teresh and Peleset (Philistia); and this locates the Amorites south of the Hittites and as neighbors of the Phoenicians (Thekel). Amor, in the Egyptian inscriptions, is then quite an extensive land, including Kadesh, the Phoenician coast, and bordering on the land of the Hittites.

Taking all this into consideration, it seems most probable that Mar-tu should be read Amurrû, and further that we should read A-mur-ru and not A-ḫar-ru.[7]

ANDIA

^{mât}AN.DI.A: [466] Sm. 51, obv. 2, rv. 3, [515] K. 621, obv. 5; ^{al}An-di-[a], [215] K. 1037, rv. 2.

The city of Andia seems, according to *ABL.* No. 215, to have been situated near Urarṭu, Mannai, and Zikirta. The land of Mannai lay on the west side of Lake Urmia, and Zikirta on its eastern shore. Urarṭu extended from Lake Van southeastward to Mannai, and sometimes even included that land as one of its provinces. The scribe of this letter, a certain ^{m}Bag-te-šup,

[1] *Asien und Europa*, p. 217.

[2] Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, III, 310.

[3] *Ibid.*, 340.

[4] Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, III, 356.

[5] *Asien und Europa*, p. 221.

[6] Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, IV, 129. For other references to the land of Amor, see *ibid.*, IV, 39, 64, 117, 127.

[7] See Muss-Arnolt, *Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*, sub Aḫarru and Amurri. For further discussion of this name, see Delattre, *PSBA.*, 1891, 233, 234; *ZA.*, VII, 22; *RP.*^{2}, V. 95, rm. 4; 98, rm. 2.

whose name is evidently a compound of Bag[1] and Te-šup, the god not only of Mitanni and ancient Kirḫu and Gorduene (cf. Šadi-Tešup, Kali-Tešup, Kili-Tešup), but also of the Gimirrai (cf. the name Te-uš-pa), and this scribe may therefore very well have been from the land of Gimirra. This land lay to the north of Lake Urmia and east of Urarṭu, and it seems therefore probable that Andia was located on the northwestern shore of Lake Urmia, between that lake and the land of Gimirra.

This is borne out by other references to this land. In *ABL.*, 466, the crown prince of ^{mât}An-di-ai writes about a horse transport, and incidentally he mentions also a nobleman ^{m}A-pil-šar-uṣur from the land of Mannai, and from this we may infer that the two lands lay near each other.

In *ABL.*, 515, a messenger of ^{mât}An-di-ai is mentioned in connection with and between those of the lands of Urarṭu and Zikirai. The latter name is undoubtedly a misspelling for Zikirtai, and the same name is again misspelled in obv. l. 15 as ^{mât}Zi-ki-ti-a. The scribe of this letter, ^{m}Bêl-nâdin, informs the Assyrian king that the messengers from Andia and Zikirai (Zikirtai) have gone to the city of Uesi. That city is well known; it belonged to Urarṭu, and lay southeast from Lake Van, near the borders of Mannai. My location of ^{mât}Andia on the northwestern shore of Lake Urmia fits in well with the situation given in this letter.

In the historical inscriptions we find this land mentioned in the annals of Shalmaneser II.[2] His Turtan Daian-Ašur received tribute, in the 31st year of Shalmaneser II, from Gilzani, Burisa, Ḫarrana, Šašgana, and Andia. The order here suggests a locality northeast of Gilzani (Kirzan) and northwest of Lake Urmia.

Adad-Nirari III claims to have conquered Parsua, Allabria, Abdadana, Nairi, and ^{mât}An-di-u.[3] Nairi is here the land round Ḫubuškia. Parsua is to the southwest and south of Lake Urmia, and the other lands are all located west of

[1] Bag or Baga is an old Median word for divinity. The name would thus signify "Tešup is god," and would be a name formed like Hebrew Joel, "Yah or Yahweh is god."

[2] ^{mât}An-di-ai, ob. 182.

[3] I R. 35, 1, l. 9.

that lake, even west of Mannai. The order goes from south to north, and Andia would therefore well fit a province to the northwest of that lake. Billerbeck[1] locates it north of Lake Urmia. Streck,[2] however, misled by a note in the inscription of Adad-Nirari III, that "its location was far away" (ša ašar-šu rûḳu), locates it east of Lake Urmia. This seems impossible, especially as he locates Parsua also east of Urmia, and between that lake and Andia. The Assyrian kingdom in the time of Adad-Nirari extended not further to the east and north than Ḫubuškia, and Andia would then certainly be regarded as a "far away land," when it lay on the northwest of Lake Urmia.

My location of Andia is finally corroborated by the inscriptions of Sargon. In his 7th year, Sargon attacked Telusina, king of ^{mât}An-di-ai,[3] and captured eight towered cities (birâte) and 4,200 men in the province of ^{mât}Tu-a-ia-a-di,[4] in the land of Andia. The order in the inscriptions of Sargon is: Mannai, Andia, Zikirtu, or Urarṭu, Muṣaṣir, Andia, and Zikirtu.

It would appear from all the inscriptions, that Andia lay on the northwest, or perhaps the northern, shore of Lake Urmia.

In the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I we find a land ^{mât}An-di-a-be,[5] given there as a province of Nairi. If this be identical with Andia, then it must be west of Lake Urmia, for Tiglath-Pileser I never went as far east as the eastern shore of that lake. He captured Ḫaria, and that land is undoubtedly identical with the Ḫarrana of the inscriptions of Shalmaneser II, and as we found above that Andia did not lie far from Ḫarrana, it would not be strange if Tiglath-Pileser I, after his conquest of Ḫaria, also reached Andia, and that its name was pronounced at this time as An-di-a-be.

With Andia should perhaps also be associated another land, ^{mât}Mi-si-an-di-a,[6] a province of Mannai, and captured by

[1] *Sandshak-Suleimania*, p. 156.

[2] *ZA.*, XV, p. 316; *ibid.*, p. 315. Streck claims that Šamsiramman should have referred to ^{mât}An-di-u. It is Adad-Nirari III, and not Šamši-Adad IV, whose inscription is given in I R. 35, No. 1.

[3] *Sarg. An.* 81; X:45; Sm. 51; ^{mât}An-di-a, *Sarg. Cyl.* 29; XIV:8; pp. IV:20; Stela, 38; *Bull.-Ins.* 13.

[4] Sarg. X:44.

[5] *An.* 4:74.

[6] Sarg. X:37.

Sargon. Hommel[1] identifies this land with Mesu, but that is impossible, for the land of Mesu lay between Zamua and Mazamua, south of the lower Zâb, in the region of the river Radânu. As Misiandia was a province of Mannai, I would suggest that it lay between[2] Mannai and Andia.

ANISU

^{al}A.NI.SU: [173] K. 686, obv. 6, 8

Nothing else is known of this city, so far as I am aware. The scribe is a certain ^{m}Ṭâb-Ašur, but he is not otherwise known. The letter was written to Sargon, for it contains a greeting to Dûr-Šarrukîn (^{al}Bir-a-te), and also a reference to the land of ^{mât}Kir-ḫu and the city of ^{al}Ia-ri. That city was perhaps located in Kašiari, and in that mountain, or north of it, in the land of Kirḫu, I would provisionally locate the city of Anisu.

APPINA

^{al}AP.PI.NA: [343] 83-1-18, 18, obv. 4, 12

The city of Appina is also unknown in the Cuneiform literature, outside of this letter. It had a fortress (ḫal-ṣu), the commandant (^{amêl}Rabû) of which, a certain ^{m}Za-ba-ai, wrote this letter. A man by that name appears in *ABL.*, No. 275, obv. 13, and he was from southern Babylonia, either Puḳudu or Bît-Amuḳâni, but it is impossible to say if the two men are identical, and nothing can therefore be said about the location of Appina.

[1] *Geschichte*, p. 713, note.

[2] Mi-si = μέσος, 'middle,' 'between.'

GEOGRAPHICAL LIST TO R. F. HARPER'S *ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN LETTERS*, VOLS. I–VIII.[1]

^{al}*A.BA.AI:* [509] 81–2–4, 123, obv 7.
^{nâr}A.BA.NI: [781] K. 823, rv. 5.
^{al}AB.DU.DI: [158] K. 530, obv. 7.
^{al}A.DA.RI.ḪI.TI: [771] 81–1–18, 49, obv. 8.
^{al}A.DI.A: [683] R^{m} 550, rv. 6.
^{al}A.DI.I[N.NU]: [500] K. 1303, obv. 6; $^{[a]l}$A-ti-nu: [762] R^{m} 2, 529, rv. 7.
^{mât}AI: [107] K. 4304, obv. 8, [159] K. 1025, obv. 7, [434] Bu. 89–4–26, 163, obv. 10, 21, [556] K. 683, obv. 21; $^{amêl\ mât}$Ai, [128] K. 650, obv. 5 [174] K. 619, rv. 12, [713] R^{m} 59, obv. 5.
^{mât}AK.BA.NU: [520] K. 680, obv. 7, 11.
^{al}A.KI.MA.DI.E: [328] K. 638, rv. 21.
^{mât}AKKAD^{ki}: [9] K. 618, rv. 5; [46] K. 939*a*, obv. 13, 19, 22, [50] K. 1242, rv. 2, [149] K. 540, obv. 9, [223] K. 112, obv. 13, [266] K. 79, obv. 10, [269] K. 528, rv. 9, [358] R^{m} 76, obv. 8, [437] K. 168, rv. 9, 19, [444] K. 645, obv. 4, [474] 81–2–4, 67, obv. 7, [518] 83–1–18, 27, rv. 8, [539] K. 17, obv. 17, rv. 24, [540] K. 87, rv. 3, [542] K. 114, rv. 23, [622] K. 1210, rv. 4, [716] K. 31, obv. 7, rv. 7, [760] R^{m} 2, 7, obv. 6, [815] 48–7–20, 116, rv. 11, 15, [841] K. 4757, rv. 19; ^{mât}Ak-ka-di-i, [7] K. 601, obv. 16, rv. 8, [435] Bu. 89–4–26, 161, rv. 10.
^{al}AK.KAD: [337] D. T. 98, obv. 6, 8, [746] 83–1–18, 146, obv. 5, 7, 10, 13, rv. 4; ^{al}Ak-kad-e, [629] K. 1263, obv. 10; ^{al}Ak-ka-di, [46] K. 939*a*, obv. 8, 11, [594] K. 1118, rv. 2.
^{mât}AL.ZI: [444] K. 645, obv. 10.
^{mât}AM.PI.ḪA.A.BI.NI: [802] 81–7–27, 39, obv. 6.
^{mât}A.MUR.RU.U: [337] D. T. 98, rv. 14, [629] K. 1263, obv. 21; ^{mât} Mar-tu^{ki}, [38] K. 1049, rv. 4, [337] D. T. 98, rv. 13, [407] 83–1–18, 40, rv. 2, [629] K. 1263, obv. 16, 17; ^{mât}Mar-tu, [337] D. T. 98, rv. 13. [629] K. 1263, obv. 19, [679] 83–1–18, 61, obv. 9.
^{amêl}MAR^{ki}: [137] K. 467, obv. 12; ^{mât}Mar^{ki}, [137] K. 467, obv. 10, 14.
^{mât}AN.DI.A: [466] Sm. 51, obv. 2, rv. 3, [515] K. 621, obv. 5; ^{al}An-di-[a], [215] K. 1037, rv. 2.
^{al}A.NI.SU: [173] K. 686, obv. 6, 8.
^{al}AP.PI.NA: [343] 83–1–18, 18, obv. 4, 12.
^{amêl}A.RA.BU: [262] K. 607, obv. 10; ^{mât}A-ri-bi, [629] K. 1263, rv. 1; ^{mât}Ar-ba-ai, [631] K. 1265, obv. 3, 7; ^{amêl}Ar-a-bi, [260] K. 562, obv. 10.

[1] Corrected and rearranged from *AJSL*, Vol. XXI, pp. 83–99.

^{al}A.RA.AK.DI: [408] R^{m} 2, 1, obv. 20, rv. 9.
^{šad}A.RA.LIM: [202] K. 83, obv. 13.
^{mât}A.RA.MU: [539] K. 17, obv. 18; ^{mât}A(?)-[ra]-me, [771], 81–1–18, 49, obv. 8.
^{amel}A.RA.MU: [747] K. 923, obv. 4.
^{al}ARBA.ILI: [43] K. 122, obv. 21, [64] K. 550, obv. 14, [179] K. 664, obv. 7, [212] K. 1199, obv. 10, [333] K. 651, obv. 6, [339] 83–1–18, 19, rv. 6, [358] R^{m} 76, obv. 5, [378] 83–1–18, 11, obv. 5, [413] Bu. 91–5–9, 12, rv. 9, [423] 83–1–18, 12, obv. 5, [427] 83–1–18, 35, obv. 7, [432] D. T. 220, obv. 31, [453] K. 948, obv. 6, [494] 80–7–19, 23, obv. 7, [495] Bu. 91–4–9, 66, obv. 7, [531] 81–2–4, 50, rv. 13, [533] 83–1–18, 44, obv. 4, [662] 80–7–19, 139, obv. 8, [671] K. 78, obv. 4, 8, [696] K. 13066, obv. 5, [697] 81–2–4, 73, obv. 7, [784] K. 1031, obv. 27, [829] K. 297, obv. 5, 9, [843] K. 846, rv. 13, [876] Bu. 91–5–9, 144, obv. 8, 10; ^{al}Arba-ila-ai, [386] 83–1–18, 9, obv. 8, [408] R^{m} 2, 1, obv. 5, 12; Arba-ili, [514] K. 477, rv. 6, [668] 83–1–28, 255, obv. 7.
^{al}AR.GA.DA: [581] K. 1072, obv. 5.
^{al}AR.GI.TE: [414] R^{m} 77, obv. 14.
^{mât}ÀR-MIR.A.LI.A: [444] K. 645, obv. 11.
^{al}ÀR.NU[.]: [324] K. 14093, obv. 4.
^{al}AR.PAD.DU: [601] K. 1126, obv. 10; ^{al}Ar-pad-da, [372] 80–7–19, 26, rv. 13, [395] Bu. 91–5–9, 136, obv. 9; ^{mât}Ar-pad-dá, [221] K. 175, obv. 13.
^{al}AR.PAD.DA.NU: [43] K. 122, obv. 16.
^{mât}AR.PA.AI: [547] K. 587, rv. 10.
^{al}ÀR.RA.NU: [502] K. 661, obv. 11, 14.
^{al}ARRAP.ḪA: [71] K. 1113 + K. 1229, rv. 2, [89] K. 515, obv. 12, rv. 2. 12, [95] K. 1151, obv. 9, rv. 4, [160] K. 1243, obv. 5, [168] K. 63*b*, obv. 7, 9, [306] K. 622, rv. 3, 7, [311] K. 630, obv. 7, 8, [375] 83–1–18, 41, obv. 9, [394] 81–2–4, 57, obv. 13, [408] R^{m} 2, 1, obv. 11, rv. 26, [415] Bu. 91–5–9, 157, obv. 9, [486] K. 8375, obv. 7, rv. 4, 9, [505] 81–2–4, 95, obv. 9, [543] K. 176, rv. 6, [682] K. 608, rv. 3; ^{al}Arrap-ḫa-ai, [599] K. 1124, rv. 3; ^{amêl}Arrap-ḫa-ai, [140] K. 518, obv. 16; ^{al}Arrap-ra-ap-ḫa, [151] K. 652, obv. 11; ^{mât}Ar-rap-ḫa, [754] K. 5457, obv. 11.
^{al}ÁR.RI: [376] 83–1–18, 42, obv. 11.
^{šad}AR.ZA.BI.IA.A: [198] K. 5464, rv. 12, 16.
$^{amêl\,al}$AR.ZI.ZA.AI: [317] K. 5291, obv. 13, rv. 3.
^{al}AR.ZU.ḪI.NA: [43] K. 122, obv. 20, [408] R^{m} 2, 1, rv. 5, [638] K.
^{mât}AŠŠUR^{ki}: [19] K. 494, rv. 9, [58] K. 1033, rv. 7; [92] K. 656, obv. 6, [146] K. 910, obv. 6, 7, [196] K. 125, obv. 4, [197] K. 181, obv. 4, [198] K. 5464, obv. 12, 17, [199] K. 7434, obv. 4, [280] K. 10, rv. 4, [281] K. 13, obv. 28, [327] K. 517, obv. 12, 17, rv. 19, [328] K. 638, obv. 13, [358] R^{m} 76, obv. 8, [397] R^{m} 2, 458, obv. 6, [409] R^{m} 2, 2, rv. 8, [434]

Bu. 89–4–26, 163, obv. 7, [436] K. 145, obv. 11, rv. 5, [437] K. 168, obv. 7, [476] 83–1–18, 5, obv. 18, [515] K. 621, obv. 10, rv. 9, [521] 83–1–18, 4, obv. 27, [568] K. 956, obv. 4, [576] K. 1009, obv. 16, 19, rv. 17, 19, [614] K. 1152, rv. 3, 7, [718] Bu. 91–5–9, 87, rv. 11, 12, [730] R^{m} 2, 14, obv. 3, [731] 81–7–27, 41, obv. 4, [789] K. 1964, obv. 6, [792] 83–1–18, 52, obv. 10, 14, [815] 48–7–20, 116, obv. 5, 13, rv. 13, 15; $^{mât\ ilu}$ Aššur^{ki}, [7] K. 601, obv. 15, rv. 7; $^{amêl\ mât\ ilu}$Aššur$^{ki\ pl.}$, [262] K. 607, obv. 7; ^{mât}Anšár^{ki}, [9] K. 618, rv. 4, [588] K. 1105, obv. 4, [752] R^{m} 48, rv. 21; Aš^{ki}, [336] K. 644, rv. 8; $^{mât\ ilu}$Aššur, [2] K. 183, obv. 6; $^{amêl\ mât\ ilu}$Aššur$^{pl.}$, [262] K. 607, obv. 7; ^{mât} An-šár^{ki}, [266] K. 79, obv. 13; ^{mât}An-šár, [10] K. 641, obv. 1; An-šár$^{ki\ pl.}$, [290] K. 828, rv. 15: ^{mât}Aš, [308] K. 1619B, rv. 7; ^{mât}Aššur, [276] K. 154, obv. 8, [308] K. 1619B, rv. 4 [541] K. 97, obv. 4, [544] K. 464, rv. 3, [595] K. 1119, rv. 2, 3, 7, [616] K. 1164, obv. 3, [638] K. 2908, obv. 12, [870] 82–5–22, 107, obv. 9, rv. 3; ^{mât} Aššur-ai, [602] K. 1127, obv. 3, 10; ^{amêl}Aššur^{ki}-ai, [460] K. 1250, rv. 1, [520] K. 680, obv. 5; ^{amêl}Aššur-ai, [271] K. 1220, obv. 10; $^{[amêl]}$Áš-šú-ra-ai, [74] K. 185, obv. 9.

^{al}AŠŠUR: [484] 81–7–27, 33, obv. 14; ^{al}Lib-er, [48] K. 1019, obv. 5, [88] K. 507, obv. 8, [91] K. 620, obv. 11, rv. 2, [92] K. 656, obv. 5, [94] K. 1147 + K. 1947, obv. 8, 10, [106] K. 1209, rv. 6, [150] K. 598, obv. 3, [307] K. 1078, rv. 7, [308] K. 1619B, obv. 2, [365] Bu. 91–5–9, 14, obv. 12, [397] R^{m} 2, 458, obv. 5, [419] 83–1–18, 24, obv. 13, rv. 3, [442] K. 543, obv. 10, 15, [464] K. 1519, rv. 7, [473] 81–2–4, 65, obv. 17, [479] 83–1–18, 94, obv. 11, [562] K. 927, obv. 10, [615] K. 1153, obv. 8, [724] K. 548, rv. 12, [817] K. 184, obv. 8, [819] K. 716, obv. 8, [820] K. 720, obv. 8, [821] K. 792, rv. 5, [822] K. 802, rv. 2, [823] K. 1368, rv. 2, [824] K. 13116, rv. 2, [825] R^{m} 205, rv. 2, [826] 82–5–22, 37, rv. 2, [827] 83–1–18, 192, rv. 3, [828] Bu. 91–5–9, 6, rv. 2, [845] 82–5–22, 93, rv. 7; ^{mal}Lib-er, [211] K. 662, obv. 1; ^{al}Lib-er-ai, [386] 83–1–18, 9, obv. 11, [473] 81–2–4, 65, obv. 3, [812] 82–5–22, 93, rv. 3; ^{al}Aš, [530] 80–7–19, 40, obv. 8.

AZ^{ki}: [336] K. 644, rv. 28.

^{al}A.ZA.RI: [635] K. 1516, rv. 8.

^{al}BÂB BÎT.ḲI: [89] K. 515, obv. 9, rv. 4, 12, [830] K. 1376, obv. 8; ^{al}Bâb-bît-ḳa, [542] K. 114, obv. 13.

BÂBILI(KA.DINGIR.RA): [32] K. 527, rv. 9, [66] K. 1017, rv. 3, [119] K. 499, rv. 8, 11, [387] Sm. 1045, rv. 14, [412] 48–7–20, 115, obv. 12, [464] K. 1519, obv. 4, rv. 9, [471] 80–7–19, 41, obv. 8, [502] K. 661, rv. 13, [522] K. 898, obv. 5, [572] K. 1001, obv. 8, [588] K. 1105, obv. 5, 11, [870] 82–5–22, 107, obv. 12; ^{mârê}Ka-dingir-ra^{ki}, [340] Bu. 91–5–9, 183, rv. 7, 9, [670] K. 12, obv. 9; ^{al}Ka-dingir-ra, [196] K. 125, obv. 15, [241] K. 1044, rv. 5, 16; $^{amêl\ mâr}$Ka-dingir-ra,

[438] K. 177, rv. 28, [608] K. 1136, rv. 3; Ka-dingir^{ki}, [23] K. 602, rv. 12, [180] K. 573, obv. 9, rv. 4, [338] 82-5-22, 98, obv. 13, [340] Bu. 91-5-9, 183, obv. 22, rv. 2, [437] K. 168, obv. 7, [455] K. 999, rv. 11, [852] K. 479, rv. 5; $^{amêl\,mâr}$Bâb-ili^{ki}, [315] K. 1402, obv. 12; ^{amêl}Bâb-ili$^{ki\,pl.}$, [301] K. 84, obv. 1; ^{mârê}Bâb-ili^{ki}, [340] Bu. 91-5-9, 183, rv. 2; ^{al}Bâb-ili, [474] 81-2-4, 67, obv. 14; Bâb-ili, [113] K. 501, rv. 7, [167] K. 582, rv. 3, [842] K. 4758, rv. 8; ^{amêl}Ba-bi-la, [848] K. 508, rv. 1, 7; Din-Tir^{ki}, [202] K. 83, obv. 5, 16, rv. 18, [212] K. 679, obv. 24, [255] K. 552, obv. 12, [259] K. 509, obv. 9, 10, 13, [261] K. 563, obv. 10, [264] K. 1045, obv. 10, [313] K. 1081, obv. 4, [326] K. 1249, obv. 5, rv. 6, 13, [327] K. 517, rv. 11, [336] K. 664, obv. 15, rv. 12, [403] Bu. 91-5-9, 210, obv. 2, 9, 21, [412] 48-7-20, 115, rv. 3, 11, 14, [418] Sm. 1028, obv. 3, 10, rv. 2, 8, [434] Bu. 89-4-26, 163, obv. 7, [436] K. 145, obv. 5, rv. 1, [454] K. 961, rv. 14, [501] Bu. 91-5-9, 39, obv. 9, [516] 81-7-27, 31, rv. 3, [571] K. 998, obv. 12, 18, rv. 1, [588] K. 1105, obv. 9, [702] 81-2-4, 77, obv. 4, 7, 9, rv. 1, 7, [793] 83-1-18, 79, rv. 12, [804] K. 544, rv. 25, [807] Bu. 91-5-9, 90, obv. 5, 7, [815] 48-7-20, 116, rv. 5, [833] K. 982, obv. 7, 8, 12, [844] K. 986, obv. 7, 10, [846] K. 508, obv. 5, [865] K. 8389, obv. 9; ^{al}Din-Tir^{ki}, [468] R^{m} 217, obv. 10, [780] K. 4734, obv. 14; ^{mârê}Din-Tir^{ki}, [848] K. 508, obv. 8; ^{amêl}Din-Tir$^{ki\,pl.}$, [210] K. 647, rv. 13, [283] K. 597, rv. 10, [301] K. 84, obv. 12, [403] Bu. 91-5-9, 210, obv. 2, 9, 21, [412] 48-7-20, 115, rv. 14, [571] K. 998, obv. 4, [702] 81-2-4, 77, rv. 1, [793] 83-1-18, 79, rv. 12, [807] Bu. 91-5-9, 90, obv. 5, [833] K. 982, obv. 7, [844] K. 986, obv. 7; ^{amêl}Din-Tir$^{ki\,me}$, [815] 48-7-20, 116, rv. 5; ^{amêl}Din-Dir-ai, [811] Bu. 89-4-26, 63+81, obv. 7.

BÂB.'.I.LA: [24] K. 626, obv. 13.

^{mât}BA.BI.TE: [408] R^{m} 2, 1, rv. 18.

^{mât}BA.BU.TA.AI: [619] K. 1182, obv. 8.

^{al}BA.IL.TAK(?).NU: [511] K. 654, rv. 1.

^{amêl}BA . . . . . NU: [576] K. 1009, rv. 5.

^{nâr}BA.NÌ.TI: [327] K. 517, rv. 7; ^{nâr}Banî-ti, [327] K. 517, rv. 9, 13.

^{al}BA.ḲAR.RI: [552] K. 640, rv. 6.

^{mât}BAR.ḪAL.ZA: [43] K. 122, obv. 13, 16, [71] K. 1113+K. 1229, rv. 1, [91] K. 4770, obv. 10, [97] K. 4770, obv. 10, [394] 81-2-4, 57, obv. 11 [767] 83-1-18, 75, obv. 13; ^{mât}Bar-ḫal-zi, [421] 83-1-18, 6, obv. 13.

BÀR.SÍP^{ki}: [313] K. 1081, obv. 4, [315] K. 1402, obv. 13 [320] K. 7473, obv. 6, [336] K. 664, obv. 15, rv. 3, [337] D. T. 98, obv. 7, [340] Bu. 91-5-9, 183, rv. 7, [349] R^{m} 78, obv. 4; ^{amêl}Bàr-sip^{ki}, [349] R^{m} 78, obv. 11, Bar-sip^{ki}, [345] 83-1-18, 39, obv. 6, [808] Bu. 91-5-9, 113, rv. 8.

^{al}BÊL^{1}.E: [43] K. 122, obv. 15; ^{al}Bêl^{2}-ili, [843] K. 846, obv. 10, rv. 11.

^{al}BE.LI.E: [767], 83-1-18, 75, obv. 15.

[1] Sign, Be. [2] Sign, En.

^{mât}BI.RA.TA.AI: [396] Sm. 1030, obv. 8; $^{[al]}$Bi-ra-a-te, [78] K. 5465, obv. 8.

^{al}BIR.TUM: [43] K. 122, obv. 20; ^{al}Bi-ir-ti, [462] K. 1374, rv. 13; ^{al}Bir-te, [311] K. 630, obv. 14, [314] K. 1227, obv. 4; ^{amêl}Bir-ta-ai, [262] K. 607, obv. 13; ^{al}Bi-rat, [88] K. 507, obv. 7, [138] K. 469, obv. 5, [259] K. 509, rv. 1, [431] Sm. 984, obv. 5; ^{al}Bir-ta-ai, [259] K. 509, obv. 6, 12.

^{al}BIR.TE.ŠÁ^{m}ADAD.RIM.A.NI: [441] K. 534, obv. 7.

^{al}BIR.TI.ŠÚ.LA.NI: [459] K. 1141, rv. 5.

BÎT A.DI.NI: [314] K. 1227, rv. 3, [642] K. 12046, obv. 2.

^{mât}BÎT AM.MAN.NA.AI: [632] K. 1295, obv. 2.

BÎT^{m}A.MUK.A.NI: [275] K. 82, obv. 6, rv. 9. [279] K. 6941, obv. 8, 10; Bît A-muk-kan-na, [258] K. 615, obv. 10, rv. 3, 9; ^{amêl}Bît ^{m}A-muk-a-nu, [517] 82-5-22, 91, obv. 8.

^{mât}BÎT BA.AL.ZA: [637] K. 1888, obv. 5.

^{al}BÎT BU.NAK.KI: [799] K. 7299, obv. 9.

BÎT DA.BU.U.NI: [544] K. 464, obv. 15.

BÎT ^{amêl}DA.KU.RA.AI: [238] K. 1107, obv. 5; ^{mât}Bît ^{m}Da-ku-ru, [588] K. 1105, rv. 3; ^{al}Bît ^{m}Da-ku-ru, [336] K. 644, obv. 5, 16; ^{al}Bît ^{m}Da-ku-ri, [542] K. 114, obv. 9, 14, 15; ^{al}Ša Bît ^{m}Da-ku-ru, [436] K. 145, obv. 14.

BÎT.^{m}DA.NI.I: [1] K. 167, obv. 12.

BÎT DÛR.A.NI: [443] K. 579, obv. 7.

BÎT ḪA.BAN: [242] K. 11148, obv. 10; ^{mât}Bît Ḫa-ban, [312] K. 689, obv. 17.

BÎT ḪI.RA.KI: [397] R^{m} 2, 458, obv. 3.

^{al}BÎT ^{m}ḪU.US.SA.AN.NI: [336] K. 644, rv. 6.

^{al}BÎT ^{m}IM.BI.IA: [781] K. 823, obv. 10; [^{al}Bît-^{m}]Im-bi-ia, [328] K. 638. rv. 4.

BÎT ^{m}IA.KI.NI: [516] 81-7-27, 31, rv. 14; Bît ^{m}Ia-a-ki-ni, [542] K. 114, obv. 12.

^{al}BÎT ^{m}IA.RI[.]: [239] K. 5585, rv. 10.

BÎT.KA.RI: [242] K. 11148, rv. 9.

^{mât}BÎT.KI[.]: [144] K. 194, rv. 4.

BÎT MAR.DI.TI.E: [414] R^{m} 77, obv. 4.

BÎT.^{m}MAR.DU.U: [179] K. 664, obv. 4; $^{mârê\ pl.\ m}$Mar-du-u, [179] K. 664, obv. 9, 10.

BÎT NA.AI.LU: [548] K. 1122, rv. 6.

BÎT.NA.AI.LA.NI: [220] K. 1274, obv. 9.

BÎT ŠA.ME: [480] K. 8402, obv. 7.

^{mât}BÎT ZA.MA.NI: [245] K. 513, rv. 6, [757] Sm. 548+Sm. 887, obv. 8.[1]

[1] Streck (*AJSL*, Vol. XXII, p. 223) is inclined to regard Bît-^{m}Ri-ta-a [129] K. 5458, obv. 5, as a geographical name. That is not so. The sign ri should be read Dal, and the name identified with Daltâ, king of Ellipi, and Bît-^{m}Daltâ understood as the house of Daltâ. Streck likewise proposes to regard Bît-ku-din, [245] K. 513, obv. 4, 13, 17, [312] K. 689, rv. 9, as a geographical name.

^{al}BU.LU.U: [705] 82-5-22, 109, rv. 16; ^{al}Bu-lu-a, [506] K. 678, obv. 11; ^{al}Bu-li-ai, [112] K. 485, rv. 4.
^{mât}DA.DU.NI: [641] K. 9389, obv. 5.
^{al}DAḪ.ER[1]: [207] K. 541, obv. 9.
^{amêl}DAḪ.ḪA.': [282] K. 524, obv. 10, 11: ^{amêl}Daḫ-ḫa-sar[2]-ú-a, [281] K. 13, obv. 21.
^{amêl}DA.I.KA.NI.E: [845] K. 508, obv. 4, rv. 2.
^{amêl}DA.MU.NU: [846] K. 673, rv. 9; ^{amêl}Da-mu-na-ai, [846] K. 673, rv. 4, [849] K. 580, obv. 12.
^{al}DA.A.NA: [372] 80-7-19, 26, rv. 8.
^{nâr}DA.'.NA: [312] K. 689, obv. 10.
^{al}DA.NI.BA.NI: [506] K. 678, obv. 12.
^{al}DAN.NI.TE: [205] K. 537, obv. 10.
^{al}DA.RA.A.TI: [222] K. 186, obv. 9, rv. 4, 10; ^{al}Da-ra-a-te, [222] K. 186, obv. 4; ^{amêl}Da-ra-ta-ai, [222] K. 186, obv. 3.
^{mât}DA.RU: [438] K. 177, obv. 15, rv. 9.
DÛR ŠÁ.^{m}MU.ŠE.ZIB: [685] 81-2-4, 96, rv. 1.
^{al}DÛR ^{ilu}ŠAMAŠ: [147] K. 1170, rv. 6.
^{al}DÛR SA.ME.DI: [615] K. 1153, obv. 3, rv. 2.
^{al}DÛR ^{m}ŠAR.UKÎN: [138] K. 469, rv. 20, [154] K. 653, rv. 19, [232] K. 1059, obv. 8, [440] K. 493, obv. 12, [452] K. 943, rv. 20, [731] 81-7-27, 41, rv. 4, [813] K. 688, obv. 12, rv. 5, [845] K. 671, obv. 7; ^{al}Dûr^{m} Šar-ukîn-na, [122] K. 491, obv. 4; ^{al}Dûr Šar-ukîn, [107] K. 4304, rv. 3, [167] K. 582, obv. 5, [190] K. 596, rv. 1, [191] K. 623, obv. 5, 10, [319] K. 7384, rv. 6, [433] 79-7-8, 138, rv. 10, [480] K. 8402, obv. 9, [503] K. 667, rv. 17, [538] K. 531, rv. 2, [709] 80-7-19, 67, rv. 3, [842] K. 4758, rv. 5, [859] 82-5-22, 134, rv. 19; ^{al}Dûr Šar-gi-na, [544] K. 464, rv. 8; ^{al}Dûr Šár-ru-ku, [339] 83-1-18, 19, obv. 7; ^{al}Dûr Šar-ru-ki, [558] K. 896, rv. 5, 9.
DÛR.TA.GI.DA.A.NI: [126] K. 609, rv. 6.
^{al}DÛR TA.LI.TI: [408] R^{m} 2, 1, obv. 15, rv. 1, [635] K. 1516, rv. 5, 7.
^{mât}E.BIR.NÂRI: [706] K. 1076, rv. 3, [67] K. 1050, rv. 5.
^{al}ÊKALLÂTE$^{pl.}$: [99] K. 5466, rv. 5, 9.
^{mât}ELAMTU (=NUM.MA^{ki}): [38] K. 1049, rv. 3, [256] K. 1202, rv. 8, [266] K. 79, obv. 9, 10, 14, 16, rv. 5, 8, [267] K. 462, rv. 5, 7, 10, 14, [268] K. 514, obv. 19, [269] K. 528, obv. 13, [277] K. 1066, rv. 11, 12, [280] K. 10, obv. 9, rv. 7, 15, [281] K. 13, obv. 4, 17, rv. 11, [282] K. 524, obv. 9, rv. 19, 21, [283] K. 597, obv. 5, 9, [295] K. 1139, obv. 5, 10, [328] K. 638, obv. 14, 21, [405] 81-2-4, 63, rv. 10, 14, 19, [422] R^{m} 215, obv. 5, [462] K. 1374, obv. 16 *bis*, [476] 83-1-18, 5, rv. 19, [520] K. 680, rv. 15, [521] 83-1-18, 4, rv. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, [527] K. 830, rv. 8, [541] K. 97, obv. 6, [576] K. 1009, obv. 8, [588] K. 1105, obv. 3, [702]

[1] Perhaps *ali*.
[2] Perhaps *li*.

81–2–4, 77, rv. 3, [736] K. 1030, obv. 9, 10, [746] 83–1–18, 146, obv. 5, [764] 83–1–18, 162, rv. 3, [791] 83–1–18, 51, rv. 4, [792] 83–1–18, 52, obv. 9, 13, [793] 83–1–18, 79, obv. 7, 12, [794] 83–1–18, 150, obv. 7, 8, [799] K. 7299, obv. 7, rv. 1, [800] K. 7424, obv. 7, [831] K. 470, rv. 9, [839] 83–1–18, 21, obv. 9, [863] K. 1196, obv. 5; ^{mât}Num^{ki}, [328] K. 638, obv. 10; ^{mât}Num-ma, [541] K. 97, rv. 7.

^{amêl}NUM.MA.AI: [140] K. 518, obv. 14; ^{amêl}E-la-ma-ai, [478] 83–1–18, 8, rv. 11.

^{al}EL.EN.ZA.A: [139] K. 1067, obv. 7.

^{al}EL.IZ: [101] K. 561, obv. 19.

^{al}EL.IZ.ZA.DU: [492] 81–2–4, 60, obv. 12; ^{al}El-iz-za-da, [492] 81–2–4, 60, obv. 6.

^{mât}EL.LI.PA: [174] K. 619, obv. 9.

[^{mât}EN-ZI]-TE-NI: [444] K. 645, obv. 6.

^{amêl}Eridu(=NUN^{ki}).Ú.A: [753] 82–5–2, 111, rv. 9; ^{al}Šár, [474], 81–2–4, 67, obv. 3, 5.

^{al}EZIGGI: [214] K. 831, obv. 7–8.

^{al}E.ZI.AD: [424] Sm. 760, rv. 1.

^{al}GAM.BU.LU: [269] K. 528, obv. 9, rv. 5; $^{amêl\ mât}$Gam-bu-la-ai, [771] 83–1–18, 49, obv. 2; ^{amêl}Gam-bu-la-ai, [140] K. 578, rv. 4, [293] K. 1054, obv. 2, [846] K. 673, rv. 9, [862] K. 1056, rv. 4, 6.

^{mât}GA.MIR: [197] K. 181, obv. 9; ^{mât}Ga-mir-ra, [146] K. 1080, obv. 6, 9; ^{amêl}Ga-me-ra-ai, [112] K. 485, obv. 4; ^{mât}Gamir(ir), [197] K. 181, rv. 10.

^{al}GA.NA.TA: [468] R^{m} 217, rv. 12.

^{al}GAR.GA.MIŠ: [120] K. 1461, obv. 15 [317] K. 5291, obv. 13; ^{al}Gar-ga-miš-ai, [186] K. 11, rv. 8; ^{al}Ša Gar-ga-miš, [609] K. 1140, obv. 5.

^{mât}GU.UB.LA.AI: [632] K. 1295, rv. 1.

^{al}GU.MU.TA.NU: [616] K. 1164, obv. 4; ^{al}Gu-mu-ta-ni, [616] K. 1164, rv. 2.

^{mât}GU.RA.SIM.MU: [754] K. 5457, obv. 7; ^{mât}Gu-ra-sim-[mu], [754] K. 5457, obv. 15; ^{amêl}Gu-ra-sim-ma, [790] Sm. 1392, obv. 7; ^{amêl}Gu-ra-sim-mu, [839] 83–1–18, 21, obv. 17; ^{amêl}Gu-ra-sim-ma-ai, [794] 83–1–18, 150, rv. 5, [833] K. 982, obv. 7.

^{mât}GU.RI.A.NI.A: [146] K. 1080, obv. 5.

^{al}GU.ZA.NA: [43] K. 122, obv. 21, [167] K. 582, obv. 8, 21, [545] K. 465, rv. 3, [575] K. 1005, obv. 11, [633] K. 1366, obv. 9, 18, rv. 6, [700] 83–1–18, 157, obv. 5.

^{mât}ḪA.BAN: [556] K. 683, rv. 2.

^{al}ḪA.AI.DA.A.LU: [281] K. 13, obv. 15.

^{al}ḪA.AI.DA.NU: [280] K. 10, rv. 19; ^{al}Ḫa-da[-a]-a-an, [395] Bu. 91–5–9, 136, rv. 1.

mâtḪA.LAḪ.ḪI: [421] 83-1-18, 6, obv. 7; mâtḪa-làḫ-ḫi, [480] K. 8402, obv. 7.
amêlḪAL.MAN.AI: [464] K. 1519, obv. 13.
mâtḪAL.LAT.[1]AI: [94] K. 1147 + K. 1947, rv. 2.
alḪA.LU.LI.E: [262] K. 607, obv. 12.
mâtḪAL.ZI.AT.PAR:[2] [43] K. 122, obv. 19, [480] K. 8402, obv. 15; mâtḪal-zi-at-par[1]-ai, [245] K. 513, obv. 9.
alḪAL.ṢU: [685] 81-2-4, 96, obv. 14, [799] K. 1299, obv. 5, rv. 25, [800] K. 7424, obv. 5.
amêlḪA.MA.RA.NA.AI: [268] Rm 217, rv. 9.
mâtḪA.MA.TE: [225] K. 674, obv. 7; mâtḪa-ma-ta-ai, [331] K. 581, rv. 5; amêlḪa-mat, [520] K. 680, obv. 14.
alḪA.MU: [214] K. 831, rv. 15, 16.
alḪA.AR.DA: [424] Sm. 760, obv. 11; alḪar-da, [548] K. 593, rv. 7.
alḪAR.ḪAR: [556] K. 683, rv. 11.
alḪA.RI.ḪUM.BA: [74] K. 185, obv. 6 (?), 14.
alḪA.RI.PA: [645] Rm 2, 464, obv. 9.
alḪAR.MA.ŠÚ: [831] K. 470, rv. 6.
alḪARRÂNU: [489] 83-1-18, 117, obv. 5.
mâtḪAR.ŠA.AI: [466] Sm. 51, obv. 9.
alḪAR.TE[.]: [36] K. 1032, obv. 7.
alḪA.TI.ŠA.RU:[3] [285] K. 1926, rv. 11.
mâtDI.KU.KI.NA: [43] K. 122, obv. 18; alDi-ku-ki-na, [724] K. 548, obv. 6.
alDIL.[4]BA.ATki: [310] K. 610, rv. 7, 11; amêlDil-batki *pl.*, [326] K. 1249, obv. 10; Dil-batki, [326] K. 1249, obv. 9.
alDI.MAŠ-KI: [158] K. 530, obv. 5; alDi-maš-ka-ai, [193] K. 542, obv. 7; amêlŠa-imêri-šu, [307] K. 1078, obv. 3.
alDIN.U.ZU(?): [556] K. 638, rv. 9.
mâtDI.RI: [308] K. 1619B, obv. 3; alDi-ru, [430]Rm 72, obv. 6; alDi-e-ru, [781] K. 823, rv. 11; alDi-e-ri, [775] Sm. 268*a*, rv. 14, [779] K. 7299, obv. 4, [868] 81-2-4, 119, obv. 6; alDi-ri, [140] K. 518, obv. 7, rv. 6, [157] K. 504, obv. 18, [449] K. 839, obv. 6, [800] K. 7424, obv. 4; [al]Di-ri, [866], 81-2-4, 93, obv. 7.
alDU.UM.MA.ŠAK.KA: [849] K. 580, rv. 6.
alDU.UM.MU.ḲU: [774] Bu. 89-4-26, 162, obv. 14.
alDÛRiluA.NU.NI.TI: [455] K. 999, rv. 7.
alDÛR A.TA.NA.TE: [635] K. 1516, rv. 2, 4; alDûršalAtânâ*pl.*-te, [408] Rm 2, 1, rv. 13.
alDÛR BÊL.iluAI: [170] K. 1013, rv. 11, [455] K. 999, rv. 8.

[1] Or mat.
[2] Or AD.MAŠ.
[3] Or, alḪa-dar-ru.
[4] Sign, ki.

DÛR.ILI^{ki}: [401] 83-1-18, 30, obv. 4, [412] 48-7-20, 115, obv. 15, [460] K. 1250, obv. 14, [476] 83-1-18, 5, rv. 12, 14, 21, [516] 81-7-27, 31, rv. 8.

DÛR IA.KI.NI: [867] 81-2-4, 94, obv. 4; Dûr ša ^{m}Ia-ki-na, [865] K. 8389, rv. 7; ^{al}Dûr Ia-ki-na-ai, [131] K. 625, rv. 4, [867] 81-2-4, 94, obv. 6.

^{mât}ḪA.AT.TU: [337] D. T. 98, rv. 15, [629] K. 1263, obv. 21; ^{mât}Ḫa-at-tum, [702] 81-2-4, 77, rv. 3; ^{mât}Ḫat-ti, [629] K. 1263, obv. 24.

^{al}ḪI.E.SA: [414] R^{m} 77, obv. 4, 12.

^{al}ḪI.GA.LI.A: [794] 83-1-18, 150, rv. 13.

^{al}ḪI.IN.DA.NU: [671] K. 78, rv. 5; ^{mât}Ḫi-in-[da-nu], [93], K. 1057, obv. 7; ^{al}Ḫi-in-za-ni, [547] K. 587, obv. 14; ^{mât}Ḫi-in-za-ni, [547] K. 587, rv. 2.

^{amêl}ḪI.IN.DAR.AI: [848] K. 508, obv. 8, 11, [865] K. 8389, obv. 5; [^{amêl}Ḫi-in]-dar-ai, [850] K. 1214, obv. 8.

^{al}ḪI.PU.Ú: [702] 81-2-4, 77, obv. 9.

^{al}ḪI.Ú.RI: [763] 81-2-4, 126, obv. 2.

^{mât}ḪU.BU.UŠ.KA.AI: [197] K. 181, rv. 20; ^{mât}Ḫu-bu-us-ki, [434] Bu. 89-4-22, 163, obv. 11; ^{mât}Ḫu-bu-us-ki-a, [434] Bu. 89-4-22, 163, obv. 21; $^{[a]l}$Ḫu-bu-us-ka-a, [441] K. 534, obv. 17.

^{nâr}ḪU.UD.ḪU.UD: [280] K. 10, rv. 18.

^{amêl}ḪU.ḪA.AN: [281] K. 13, obv. 14.

^{mât}ḪU.UP.KA.AI: [515] K. 621, rv. 3.

^{nâr}I.KA.RU: [705] 82-5-22, 109, rv. 10.

^{al}IR.GI.DU: [280] K. 10, obv. 11.

^{al}I.SA.NA: [43] K. 122, obv. 15, 19, [63] K. 549, obv. 11, [372] 80-7-19, 26, rv. 17, [585] K, 1098, obv. 7.

^{al}IŠ.ḲI.A: [136] K. 631, obv. 6, [191] K. 623, obv. 4, [526] K. 628, obv. 4.

^{al}IŠ.RAM.NI: [571] K. 998, rv. 18.

^{mât}I.TA.AI: [467] Sm. 456, rv. 18; ^{mât}I-tu-', [830] K. 1376, obv. 10; ^{mât}I-tu-'-ai, [95] K. 1151, rv. 3; ^{amêl}I-tu-'-u, [138] K. 469, rv. 11; ^{amêl}I-tu-u, [506] K. 678, rv. 15; ^{amêl}I-tu-', [572] K. 1001, obv. 10, [685] 81-2-4, 96, rv. 22; ^{amêl}I-tú-'-ai, [201] K. 690, obv. 5, [242] K. 11148, rv. 16, [388] R^{m} 2, 463, obv. 7, [419] 81-1-18, 24, obv. 10, 12; ^{amêl}I-tú . . . , [147] K. 1170, rv. 5; ^{amêl}I-tú-'-e, [506] K. 678, rv. 10; ^{amêl}I-tu-ai, [424] S. 760, rv. 2, 10; ^{amêl}I-tu-'-ai-e-a, [482] 82-5-22, 104, obv. 6; ^{amêl}U-tu-'-ai, [349] R^{m} 78, rv. 3.

^{mât}I.ZAL.LI: [644] R^{m} 2, 461, obv. 5.

^{amêl}IA.A.DA.ḲU.AI: [349] R^{m} 78, rv. 4.

^{al}IA.RI: [173] K. 686, rv. 1; ^{al}Ia-e-ri, [441] K. 534, obv. 5.

^{amêl}IA.A.ŠI.AN: [280] K. 10, obv. 14.

^{mât}IA.SU.PI: [581] K. 1072, rv. 4; ^{mât}Ia-su-me (*sic!*), [245] K. 513, rv. 3; ^{mât}Ia-šú-pu, [228] K. 1055, rv. 9.

^{mât}IA.U.DA.AI: [632] K. 1295, obv. 6.

^{al}KAK.ZA: [211] K. 662, rv. 9; ^{al}Kak-sim, [346] Bu. 89-4-26, 9, obv. 3; ^{al}Kak-zi, [43] K. 122, obv. 14, [64] K. 550, obv. 12, [389] Sm. 1034, obv. 8, [615] K. 1153, rv. 1, [843] K. 846, rv. 6; ^{al}Kak-zi-ai, [386] 83-1-18, 9, obv. 7.

^{mât}KAL.DU: [337] D. T. 98, rv. 15; ^{mât}Kal-di, [629] K. 1263, obv. 23, 24; ^{mât}Kal-dá-ai, [742] R^{m} 2, 462, obv. 5; ^{amêl}Kal-du, [240] K. 7467, obv. 11; ^{amê} Kal-da-ai, [245] K. 513, rv. 2, 9, [247] K. 1027, rv. 3, [411] R^{m} 2, 5, obv. 5. [564] K. 937, obv. 6, [759] D. T. 63, obv. 6, [763] 81-2-4, 126, obv. 5.

^{al}KAL.ḪI: [65] K. 629, obv. 7, 14, [71] K. 1143+K. 1229, obv. 13, [440] K. 493, obv. 10; ^{al}Kal-ḫa, [6] K. 595, rv. 9, [52] K. 80, rv. 7, [106] K. 1209, rv. 2, 7, [127] K, 616, rv. 11, [198] K. 5464, rv. 22, [232] K. 1059, obv. 5, [233] K. 7339, obv. 5, [235] K. 13016, obv. 7, [394] 81-2-4, 57, rv. 2, [453] K. 948, rv. 9, [476] 83-1-18, 5, obv. 10, [486] K. 8375, obv. 5, rv. 11, 15, [493] 83-1-18, 13, rv. 16, [547] K. 587, rv. 9, 16, [626] K. 1233, rv. 4, [730] R^{m} 2, 14, rv. 11; ^{al}Kál-ḫa, [23] K. 602, rv. 10, [175] K. 614, obv. 9; ^{al}Kàl-ḫa, [211] K. 662, rv. 9; ^{al}Kal-ḫa-ai, [386] 83-1-18, 9, obv. 21, [529] K. 1252*a*, rv. 13, [712] Sm. 1223, obv. 6; ^{al}Kal-laḫ, [57] K. 687, obv. 14, rv. 8; ^{al}Ka-laḫ, [698] Sm. 764+ Sm. 1650, obv. 10, [702] 81-2-4, 77, obv. 7.

^{al}KAN.NU.'.AI: [529] K. 1252*a*, obv. 7.

^{al}KÂR.ME.E: [574] K. 1004, obv. 6.

^{al}KÂR.^{ilu}NA.NA.A: [795] Bu. 91-5-9, 107, rv. 11.

^{al}KÂR.^{ilu}NERGAL: [326] K. 1249, rv. 2.

^{mât}KÂR.SIPARRI: [646] 79-7-8, 292, obv. 12; ^{al}Kâr Si-par[-ri], [381] 81-2-4, 55, obv. 12.

^{al}KÂR ^{ilu}ŠAMAŠ: [95] K. 1151, obv. 6, 8, [207] K. 541, obv. 10.

^{al}KÂR ^{m}ŠAR.UKÎN: [126] K. 609, obv. 10, [128] K. 650, obv. 9, 15; ^{al}Kâr ^{m}LUGAL.GI.N[A], [645] R^{m} 2, 464, obv. 3; ^{al}Kâr-LUGAL.GI.NA, [556] K. 683, obv. 7.

^{al}KÂR.RIŠ: [761] R^{m} 2, 474, obv. 6.

^{al}KAR.SI.TÚ . . . : [381] 81-2-4, 55, obv. 12.

^{al}KA.SAP.PA: [52] K. 80, obv. 9; ^{al}Ka-sap-pi, [862] K. 1056, obv. 3, 5.

^{al}KAŠ.PAR.PAR.EME: [262] K. 607, obv. 9.

^{al}KI.BA.AT^{ki}: [310] K. 610, rv. 7, 11; ^{al}Ku-bat[-], [101] K. 561, obv. 8.

^{amêl}KI.DA.RA.AI: [350] 83-1-18, 29, obv. 8.

^{al}KI.GU.UḪ.TÚ: [556] K. 683, rv. 10.

^{al}KI.MAR[.]: [128] K. 650, rv. 2.

^{mât}KIR.ḪU: [173] K. 686, obv. 11.

^{mât}KI.IR.ME.SI: [769] K. 1042, rv. 3.

^{al}KI.SIK: [521] 83-1-18, 4, rv. 8, 10; ^{amêl}Ki-sik$^{pl.}$-ai, [210] K. 647,

obv. 2; ^{al}Ki-is-sik, [736] K. 1030, obv. 8; ^{amêl}Ki-is-sik-ai, [736] K. 1030, obv. 2.

^{al}KI.ŠI.SI: [459] K. 1141, rv. 4.

^{al}KI.ZA.ḪA.SI: [556] K. 683, rv. 10.

^{amêl}KUB.^{1}TA.AI: [576] K. 1009, rv. 6.

^{al}KU.LI.IM[.ME(?).RI(?)]: [507] K. 1077, obv. 8; ^{al}Ku-li-i[- -], [776] R^{m} 50, obv. 7.

^{mât}KUL.LA.NI.A: [43] K. 122, obv. 15; ^{al}Kul-la-ni-a, [372] 80–7–19, 26, rv. 11.

^{al}KU.LU.MAN: [129] K. 5458, obv. 6, 8.

^{mât}KU.MA.AI: [619] K. 1182, obv. 7; ^{al}Ku-ma-ai, [198] K. 5464, obv. 17, [490] K. 746, obv. 6; ^{al}Ku-me, [544] K. 464, obv. 17, 24; ^{amêl}Ku-um-ma-ai, [206] K. 539, obv. 5; ^{amêl}Ku-ma-ai-e, [544] K. 464, obv. 13, 16; ^{al}Ku-m[u], [101] K. 561, obv. 18.

^{mât}KU.ME.SA.AI: [310] K. 610, obv. 9.

^{mât}KU.MU.ḪA.AI: [196] K. 125, obv. 8, 12, 22.

^{al}KUR.BA.AN: [29] K. 1204, obv. 9, [123] K. 574, obv. 7, rv. 11, [413] Bu. 51–5–9, 12, rv. 11; ^{al}Kur-na^{2}-an, [731] 81–7–27, 41, rv. 5.

^{mât}KUR.BA.NI.TI: [451] K. 924, rv. 7.

^{mât}KU.U.SU: [629] K. 1263, rv. 9; ^{mât}Ku-u-si, [32] K. 527, obv. 14; ^{mât}Ku-sa-ai, [60] K. 487, obv. 8, [61] K. 529, obv. 9, rv. 1, 5, [64] K. 550, obv. 8, rv. 1, [372] 80–7–19, 260, obv. 7, 9, rv. 1, 3, 9, 16, [373] 82–5–22, 99, obv. 7, 9, 11, 13, [374] 82–5–22, 172, obv. 7, [376] 83–1–18, 42, obv. 12, rv. 1, [394] 81–2–4, 57, obv. 7, 12, 14, rv. 4, [538] K. 531, obv. 9, rv. 4, [601] K. 1126, obv. 5, 12, 14, [649] 81–2–4, 110, obv. 3, rv. 1, [684] 80–7–19, 37, rv. 1, [686] 83–1–18, 113, rv. 4; Ku-sa-ai, [63] K. 549, obv. 7, [374] 82–5–22, 172, obv. 9, 12, [376] 83–1–18, 42, obv. 7, 8, 9, [393] 80–7–19, 25, obv. 9, rv. 2, 4, 10, [575] K. 1005, obv. 7, 9; ^{al}Ku-si, [575] 1005, rv. 6.

KÛTA (=TIG.GAP.A)^{ki}: [336] K. 644, rv. 7, [340] Bu. 91–5–9, 183, rv. 8, [464] K. 1519, obv. 4, 18, [527] K. 830, obv. 19, [804] K. 544, rv. 2; ^{m} ^{amêl}Ku-ú-tu, [469] 48–11–4, 282, obv. 6.

^{al}KU.TÚ.LI: [449] K. 838, obv. 3.

^{al}LA.AB.BA.NA.AT: [32] K. 527, obv. 8, 16.

^{mât}LA.BA.DU.DA.AI: [537] K. 8535, obv. 5; ^{mât}Lab-du-di, [798] K. 1023, obv. 6.

^{al}LAH.GA.GA: [129] K. 5458, obv. 10.

^{al}LA.ḪI.RU: [61] K. 529, rv. 4, [280] K. 10, obv. 20, [286] K. 5398, obv. 7, [781] K. 823, obv. 7; ^{al}La-ḫi-ri, [459] K. 1141, rv. 6, [543] K. 176, rv. 5, [558] K. 896, rv. 4, 7, [685] 81–2–4, 96, obv. 8, [746] 83–1–18, 146, obv. 9; ^{al}La-ḫi-ra-ai, [712] Sm. 1223, rv. 10, 12.

[1] Or, Du, kin.

[2] Read ba; the two signs ba and na are very similar, but this passage refers evidently t ^{al}Kur-ba-an.

mâtLA.KI.E: [813] K. 688, rv. 7; alLa-ku-u-a, [813] K. 688, rv. 3.
amêlLA.PI.AI: [600] K. 1125, obv. 8.
alLA.AP.SI.IA: [610] K. 1142, obv. 11.
alLA.RAK.KA: [763] 81–2–4, 126, obv. 6; ud-ud-kiki, [344] 83–1–18, 28, rv. 4; ud-ud-akki, [542] K. 114, rv. 6, 10, 13; amêlud-udki-ú-a, [344] 83–1–18, 28, rv. 2.
alLI[. . .]: [841] K. 4757, rv. 9.
amêlLI.ḪU.U.A.TA.AI: [468] Rm 217, rv. 8.
alLUD.DIN.AN: [726] 80–7–19, 24, rv. 10; alLud-din-an-ai, [727] 83–1–18, 67, obv. 8.
alLU.KA.ŠE: [218] K. 1199, obv. 9.
alLU.LI.I[.]: [776] Rm 50, obv. 7.
alLU.RI.SI.TE: [484] 81–7–27, 33, obv. 8.
amêl mâtMA.DA.AI: [208] K. 617, obv. 8; mâtMa-ta-ai, [126] K. 609, obv. 6.
alMA.DAK.TÚ: [281] K. 13, obv. 23, [285] K. 1926, rv. 11, 12; al Ma-dak-ti, [281] K. 13, obv. 7.
alMA.AḪ.MI.TI: [520] K. 680, rv. 14.
amêlMA.LA.BE: [701] Sm. 1338, rv. 1.
amêlMA.LA.ḪA.AI: [701] Sm. 1338, rv. 2.
mâtMA.NA.AI: [198] K. 5464, obv. 32, rv. 20, [556] K. 683, rv. 1, 4, [616] K. 1164, obv. 5; mâtMan-ai, [381] 81–2–4, 55, obv. 4, rv. 2, [434] Bu. 89–4–26, 163, obv. 10, 21, rv. 10, 20; mâtMa-ni-', [414] Rm 77, rv. 14; mâtMa-na-nu, [520] K. 680, obv. 4; alMu-nu-', [98] K. 5465, rv. 10, 13; mâtMan-na-ai, [165] K. 497, rv. 4, [215] K. 1037, rv. 4, [342] 79–7–8, 234, rv. 7, 13, [466] Sm. 51, rv. 5.
mâtMA.NA.NU: [520] K. 680, obv. 4.
MÀ.NA.KUki:[1] [516] 81–7–27, 31, obv. 12.
amêlMAN.DIR.AI: [168] K. 636, rv. 23.
alMA.RA.AD: [853] K. 905, rv. 5; Ṣur-ṭaki, [238] K. 1107, obv. 9; al[Ma-rad], [853] K. 905, obv. 9, 13.
amêlMAR.ḪA.SA.AI: [190] K. 596, obv. 24.
alMAR-ḪU.ḪA: [251] K. 506, obv. 21, rv. 6; alMar-ḫu-ḫa-ai, [251] K. 506, rv. 1.
alMAR.PA.DA.AI: [685] 81–2–4, 96, obv. 19.
narMAR.RAT: [418] Sm. 1028, rv. 5, [462] K. 1374, rv. 14, [520] K. 680, rv. 21, [775] Bu. 91–5–9, 107, rv. 3, 6.
šadMAŠ: [448] K. 826, obv. 6, 9.
mâtMA.ZA.MU: [408] Rm 2, 1, obv. 13; mâtMa-za-mu-a, [556] K. 683, rv. 2.
mâtME.LID.AI: [375] 83–1–18, 41, rv. 3.

[1] The first sign may be read *u*, and the whole name may be a peculiar way of writing Erech (Unukki).

mâtME.SA.AI: [61] K. 529, rv. 2, 6, [394] 81-2-4, 57, obv. 8, 15, rv. 5; Me-sa-ai, [71] K. 1113+K. 1229, rv. 9.

alMÊ$^{pl.}$.TÙR.NA: [158] K. 530, rv. 16; alMê$^{pl.}$-tur-na, [455] K. 999, rv. 5, 8, [158] K. 530, obv. 16; alMe-tur-na, [170] K. 1013, rv. 8; alMu-tur-na, [251] K. 506, obv. 5; alMu-tur-na-ai, [251] K. 506, obv. 4.

mâtMI.ṢIR: [276] K. 154, obv. 6.

mâtMU.'.BA.AI: [632] K. 1295, obv. 4.

alMU.MA.AI: [246] K. 669, rv. 11.

amêlMU.MU.ḲU, [272] K. 4736, rv. 2.

alMU.ZA.ṢIR: [145] K. 910, obv. 8, [380] Rm 2, 3, obv. 7, rv. 4, [409] Rm 2, 2, rv. 1; alMu-za-ṣi-ri, [381] 81-2-4, 55, obv. 9, [646] 79-7-8, 292, obv. 9; alMu-za-ṣir-ai, [197] K. 181, rv. 17; mâtMu-za-ṣir, [448] K. 826, obv. 2.

alNA.GI.A.TA.AI: [830] K. 1376, obv. 5.

mâtNA.ḪAL: [520] K. 680, obv. 2; amêlNa-ḫal, [576] K. 1009, rv. 6.

nârNA.ḪAL: [520] K. 680, obv. 18.

mâtNA.M[A.RU]: [667] 81-7-27, 30, obv. 17.

amêlNAM.ḪA.NU: [272] K. 4736, obv.

alNAM.PI.BAR(?): [323] K. 6005, obv. 6.

mâtNA.RI[.]: [225] K. 674, obv. 7.

alNA.ṢI.BI.NA: [585] K. 1098, obv. 6; alNa-ṣib-na, [585] K. 1098, obv. 11.

amêlNI.BA.'.A.TI: [260] K. 562, rv. 1.

alNI.KUR: [165] K. 497, rv. 2, [556] K. 683, rv. 9; amêlNe-kurki, [520] K. 680, rv. 17.

alNI.MIT.iluIŠTAR: [813] K. 688, obv. 8, [814] 81-7-27, 34, obv. 5.

alNI.MIT.LA.GU.DA: [474] 81-2-4, 67, obv. 4; Nimid(?)iluLa-gu-duki, [516] 81-7-27, 31, obv. 11.

alNINÂ: [49] K. 1168, rv. 18, [62] K. 547, rv. 6, [186] K. 11, obv. 19, [332] K. 13000, rv. 3, [339] 83-1-18, 19, rv. 6, [427] 83-1-18, 35, obv. 6, [610] K. 1142, obv. 18, [620] K. 1210, obv. 12, [841] K. 4757, rv. 12, [845] K. 671, obv. 7; alNi-nu-a, [52] K. 80, obv. 10, [175] K. 614, rv. 2, [440] K. 493, obv. 11, [683] Rm 550, rv. 8, [706] K. 1076, obv. 5, [731] 81-7-27, 41, rv. 3, [841] K. 4757, rv. 11, [867] 81-2-4, 94, rv. 9; alNi-nu-u-a, [633] K. 1366, obv. 12; Ni-naki, [484] 81-7-27, 33, rv. 9; Ninâ, [668] 83-1-18, 255, obv. 5; alNi-nà-ak, [456] K. 1012, obv. 13, rv. 12; Ni-nà-a, [792] 83-1-18, 52, rv. 16; Ninâki, [17] K. 472, rv. 3, [73] K. 5509, obv. 3, [399] 67-4-2, 1, rv. 3, [453] K. 948, obv. 5, [494] 80-7-19, 23, obv. 6, [662] 80-7-19, 139, obv. 7, [696] K. 13066, obv. 4, [697] 81-2-4, 73, obv. 6, [766] K. 475, obv. 8, [816] K. 88, obv. 4; alNinâki, [2] K. 183, rv. 4, [18] K. 490, rv. 4, [52] K. 80, rv. 4, [221] K. 175, obv. 6, [358] Rm 76, obv. 5, [386] 83-1-18, 9, obv. 6, 20, [495] Bu. 91-4-9, 65, obv. 7.

$^{al(?)}$NU.NA.AK: [830] K. 1376, rv.

^{šad}NI.PIR: [311] K. 630, obv. 15.

NIPPUR(=EN.KID)^{ki}: [202] K. 83, rv. 4, [238] K. 1107, obv. 10, rv. 6, 10, 11, [239] K. 5585, rv. 2, [240] K. 7467, rv. 3, [287] K. 94, obv. 1 (?), [516] 81–7–27, 31, rv. 8, [572] K. 1001, obv. 9, [622] K. 1210, rv. 1, [797] K. 672, obv. 5, 15, 17, [866] 81–2–4, 93, obv. 9, rv. 8; ^{amêl}En-Kid^{ki}, [238] K. 1107, rv. 4, [240] K. 7467, obv. 3, rv. 3, [327] K. 517, rv. 18, [540] K. 87, obv. 4; ^{amêl}En-Kid$^{ki\,pl.}$, [328] K. 1107, rv. 14, [469] 48–11–4, 282, rv. 10, [866] 81–2–4, 93, rv. 8.

^{al}NU.GIŠ.ŠAR: [574] K. 1004, obv. 7.

^{amêl}NU.ḪA.NU.ÚA: [210] K. 647, obv. 15.

^{al}NU.UḪ.BA.IA: [307] K. 1078, obv. 2, rv. 10.

^{al}PAK.KI.MI.RI: [521] 83–1–18, 4, rv. 24.

^{mât}PAR.SU.A: [165] K. 497, obv. 4, [311] K. 630, obv. 12; ^{al}Par-su-a, [61] K. 529, obv. 10.

^{al}PAR.ZA.NI.IS.[TUM]: [147] K. 1170, rv. 7.

^{mât}PA.ÁŠ.ŠA.TE: [205] K. 537, obv. 11.

^{nâr}PAT.TI.AN.BI: [621] K. 1208, obv. 11.

^{al}PI.EN.ZA.A: [138] K. 409, obv. 9.

^{mât}PI.LIS.TA.AI: [218] K. 1199, obv. 4.

^{al}PU.ḲU.DU: [267] K. 462, rv. 15, [268] K. 514, obv. 9, 12, [751] Sm. 920, obv. 9, [752] R^{m} 48, rv. 10, 11; ^{amêl}Pu-ḳu-du, [275] K. 82, obv. 6, rv. 10, [279] K. 6946, obv. 9, [282] K. 524, obv. 18, [754] K. 5457, obv. 24, [790] Sm. 1392, obv. 11, [792] 83–1–81, 52, rv. 10; ^{mât}Pu-ḳu-di, [314] K. 1227, obv. 7; $^{[mât]}$Pu-gu-di, [763] 81–2–4, 126, rv. 3; ^{amêl}Pu-ḳu-da, [267] K. 462, obv. 21, [288] K. 95, obv. 6; ^{âl}Pu-ḳu-da-ai, [967] K. 462, rv. 4; ^{amêl}Pu-ḳu-da-ai, [754] K. 5457, obv. 26, [808] Bu. 91–5–9, 113, rv. 2; ^{amêl}Pu-ḳud, [402] 83–1–18, 31, obv. 8.

^{nâr}PU.RAT.TE: [424] Sm. 760, rv. 11; ^{nâr}Ú-rat, [553] K. 659, rv. 7; ^{nâr}Rat-ti, [336] K. 644, rv. 7.

^{amêl}KA-MUR-RA: [646] 79–7–8, 292, obv. 13, [685] 81–2–4, 96, rv. 22.

^{al}ḲA.AP.PA.TA.AI: [573] K. 1003, obv. 4.

^{mât}ḲA.NI.UN: [444] K. 645, obv. 9; ^{al}Ḳa-ni-un, [444] K. 645, rv. 1.

^{mât}ḲA.AP.RI.BA.KI.I.U: [437] K. 168, obv. 15.

^{al}ḲAR.NI.E: [372] 80–7–19, 26, obv. 14.

^{mât}ḲI.PA.NI: [323] K. 6005, obv. 7.

^{mât}ḲU.Ú[.]: [624] K. 1213, obv. 5.

^{al}ḲU.DA.BA.TI: [315] K. 1402, obv. 7.

$^{al\,amêl}$ḲU.DA.AI: [246] K. 669, obv. 5.

^{al}ḲU.UN.BU.NA: [317] K. 5291, obv. 7.

^{al}ḲU.RA.NI: [480] K. 8402, obv. 6.

^{nâr}ḲUR.BU: [490] K. 746, obv. 2.

amêlḲUR.RA.AI: [251] K. 506, obv. 4, 8, [388] Rm 2, 463, obv. 6; mâtḲur, [749] Sm. 1976, obv. 8; mâtḲur-a,[1] [726] 80-7-19, 24, rv. 5; amêlGu-ra-[ai], [76] K. 555, obv. 9.

mâtRA.BI.TI: [542] K. 114, rv. 18.

alRA.DI.E: [281] K. 13, rv. 16; amêlRa-di-a-ni, [102] K. 657, obv. 9, rv. 11.

alRA.ḪAR.RI.DA: [762] Rm 2, 529, obv. 5.

amêlRA.SI.TU: [848] K. 508, rv. 5.

mâtRA.ṢAP.PA: [43] K. 122, obv. 14, 16, [767] 83-1-18, 75, obv. 10; mâtRa-ṣa-pa-ai, [534] K. 637, obv. 7.

mâtRA.A.ŠU: [774] Bu. 89-4-26, 162, obv. 11, 12, rv. 17; amêl mât Ra-ša-ai, [295] K. 1139, obv. 1; alRa-ši, [169] K. 997, obv. 8.

alRI.[2]BAT: [804] K. 544, rv. 10, 11.

mâtRI.B[I- -]: [639] K. 8390, rv. 7.

amêlRI.ḪI.ḲU.AI: [349] K. Rm 78, rv. 5; mâtRa-ḫi-ḫa, [830] K. 1376, rv. 6; mâtRu-ḳa-ḫa-ai, [94] K. 1147 + 1947, rv. 3.

alRI.MU.SU: [43] K. 122, obv. 23; alRi-mu-sa, [102] K. 657, obv. 10.

mâtRU.': [158] K. 530, obv. 4, 9; alRu-'-úa, [268] K. 514, obv. 10; amêlRu-ú-ai, [287] K. 94, obv. 6.

mâtRU.BU.': [830] K. 1376, obv. 11.

amêlRU.ZA.PI.':[3] [846] K. 673, rv. 3.

alSA.BA.ḪA.NI: [388] Rm 2, 463, obv. 8; alSab-ḫa-a-ni, [524] K. 588, obv. 3.

alSA.DI.RI: [602] K. 1127, obv. 13.

mâtSA.DU.DA.AI: [198] K. 5464, rv. 22.

alSA.LA.[.]: [174] K. 619, rv. 8.

alSA.LAM.ME.E: [726] 80-7-19, 24, rv. 11.

alSA.MA.AL.LA: [633] K. 1366, obv. 7.

alSA.MIR.I.NA.AI: [633] K. 1366, obv. 5.

alSA.AN.ḪA: [342] 79-7-8, 234, obv. 5.

alSA.AN.IR: [129] K. 5458, rv. 19.

alSA.PÁR.[RAT(?)].TE: [87] K. 466, obv. 9, rv. 13.

alSA.PI.A: [314] K. 1227, obv. 10; alSa-pi-ai, [762] Rm 2, 529, obv. 7.

alSA.RAP.NA.AI: [572] K. 1001, obv. 8, rv. 14.

alSA.SI.ḲA.NI: [52] K. 80, rv. 1.

alSA.RI.E: [192] K. 146, obv. 11, 14, [635] K. 1516, rv. 1.

alSA.ZA.NA.A: [414] Rm 77, rv. 4.

alSI.ḪA.NA: [448] K. 826, obv. 5.

alSI.'.ME.E: [538] K. 531, obv. 13, [575] K. 1005, obv. 8, [585] K. 1098, obv. 5.

alSI.IN.NI: [482] 82-5-22, 104, obv. 8; alSi-na-ai, [331] K. 581, rv. 4.

[1] Not certain, if *a* belongs to the name.

[2] Or Di, Dal; possibly alDil-bat is meant here; see Johns, *AJSL*, Vol. XXII, p. 231.

[3] Or iḫ.

SIPPAR (=TAM.KIB.ṢIL)^{ki}: [186] K. 11, rv. 16, [418] Sm. 1028, rv. 4; Sip-par^{ki}, [464] K. 1519, obv. 4; Sip-pár^{ki}, [516] 81–7–27, 31, obv. 18, [808] Bu. 91–5–9, 113, rv. 4; ^{al}Sip-pár, [608] K. 1136, rv. 1; ^{al}Si-par, [88] K. 507, rv. 5.

SIPUR, see ṢIBAR.

^{mat}SU.BAR.TI: [356] Bu. 89–4–26, 160, obv. 21.

^{al}SU.DA.NI.NA: [425] Bu. 91–5–9, 105, obv. 10.

^{mat}SU.ḪI: [547] K. 587, obv. 18; ^{mat}Su-ḫa-ai, [813] K. 688, obv. 13, rv. 8.

[. . .]SUK.KA.AI: [767] 83–1–18, 75, obv. 8.

^{mat}SU.UM.BI: [312] K. 689, obv. 16.

^{al}SU.RI.A.NA.AI: [112] K. 485, rv. 5.

^{mat}SU.TU.U: [629] K. 1263, obv. 22.

^{nar}ṢALMU: [380] R^{m} 2, 3, obv. 8.

^{al}ṢI.BAR[. . .]: [52] K. 80, obv. 11; ^{al}Si-pur, [320] K. 7473, obv. 8, [745] 82–5–22, 141, rv. 6.

^{mat}ṢI.BA.TU.NU: [576] K. 1009, obv. 18.

^{al}ṢI.DU.NA.AI: [175] K. 614, obv. 6.

^{al}ṢI.MI.RI: [190] K. 596, obv. 21.

^{al}ṢU.PI.TE: [414] R^{m} 77, rv. 11; ^{al}Ṣip-te, [95] K. 1151, rv. 5, 7, [ ] R^{m} 77, 21, [608] K. 1136, rv. 1 (?).

^{al}ŠÁ.BI.RI.ŠU: [167] K. 582, obv. 9, 19; ^{al}Ša-bi-ri-šu, [252] K. 525, obv. 5, [729] Sm. 521, obv. 6.

^{al}ŠA.AḪ.ḪU.UŠ.TI: [267] K. 462, rv. 9.

^{amêl}ŠAL.LU.UK.KI.E.A: [281] K. 13, obv. 21; ^{amêl}Šal-lu-ki-si-a, [789] K. 1964, obv. 7.

^{al}ŠA.MAN.A.KU: [516] 81–7–8, 31, obv. 12.

^{al}ŠAMAŠ.NÂṢIRI: [168] K. 63*b*, obv. 7, 10, 13, 17.

^{al}ŠA.MA.Ú.NU: [774] Bu. 89–4–26, 167, obv. 5.

^{mat}ŠA.NI.TI: [476] 83–1–18, 5, rv. 22.

^{mat}ŠA.PAR.DA: [645] R^{m} 2, 464, rv. 3.

^{al}ŠA.RA.GI.TI: [617] K. 1167, rv. 7.

^{al}ŠA.RIŠ: [43] K. 122, obv. 22.

^{nar}ŠARRI: [275] K. 82, rv. 4.

^{mat}ŠA.AT.TE.RA: [646] 79–7–8, 292, obv. 13.

^{al}ŠE.NU: [602] K. 1127, obv. 12.

^{mat}ŠI.IB[. .]UR: [646] 79–7–8, 292, obv. 11.

^{al}ŠI.I.TAB.NI: [578] K. 1018, rv. 9.

^{mat}ŠÚ.UB.RI.AI: [507] K. 1077, obv. 7, [705] 82–5–22, 109, obv. 7; ^{mat}Šub-ri-ai, [138] K. 469, obv. 14, 19; ^{mat}Šú-bur-a, [251] K. 506, obv. 11, 19; ^{mat}Šú-bur-ai, [251] K. 506, obv. 22 [252] K. 525, obv. 5.

^{al}ŠÚ.ḪA.RI.SU.UN.GUR: [281] K. 13, obv. 13.

^{al}ŠU.ḪU.PA: [649] 81–2–4, 110, rv. 5.

mâtŠUN.GI.BU.TU: [174] K. 619, obv. 11.
alŠÚ.RU.BA: [424] Sm. 760, rv. 18.
alŠÚ.ŠA.AN: [280] K. 10, obv. 13.
mâtTA.BAL: [197] K. 181, rv. 28; mâtTa-bal-ai, [602] K. 1127, obv. 4, 11; [mâtTa]-bal-ai: [556] K. 683, obv. 20; [mâtTa]-ab-al-la-a, [830] K. 1376, rv. 1.
alTA.GA.LA.GI: [408] Rm 2, 1, obv. 16, [701] Sm. 1338, obv. 17.
alTA.I.KU.IK.KI: [462] K. 1374, obv. 20; alTa-i . . . . . , [460] K. 1250, obv. 2.
nârTAK.KA.DAP(?): [520] K. 680, obv. 8.
alTA.LA.AḪ: [281] K. 13, obv. 10, rv. 15.
mâtTAM.TIM: [210] K. 647, rv. 11, 14, 16, [267] K. 462, obv. 7, 9: [280] K. 10, obv. 5, [516] 81–7–27, 31, rv. 11, [520] K. 680, rv. 3, 24, [521] 83–1–18, 4, rv. 1, 3 *bis*, 25, [540] K. 87, rv. 7, [576] K. 1009, rv. 9, 11, [736] K. 1030, obv. 11, [795] Bu. 91–5–9, 107, obv. 6, [839] 83–1–18, 21, obv. 14, rv. 5, [859] 82–5–22, 132, obv. 14; mâtTam-timki, [863] K. 1196, rv. 7; amêlŠa mâtTam-tim, [540] K. 87, rv. 6; amêl mât Tam-tim-ú-a, [344] 83–1–18, 28, obv. 7; mâtTam-ti, [702] 81–2–4, 77, obv. 1; amêlTam-da-ai, [839] 83–1–18, 21, obv. 21, rv. 4; amêl mâtTam-tim-ai, [289] K. 312, obv. 1; amêl mâtTam-tim-ú-ai, [521] 83–1–18, 4, rv. 9, [752] Rm 48, rv. 12.
alTAR.BI.ṢI: [47] K. 979, obv. 8, [628] K. 1247, obv. 7.
alTAR.BU.SI.BI: [642] K. 12046, obv. 4.
alTAR.GI.BA.A.TI: [282] K. 524, rv. 3.
alTAR.ḪA.AI: [635] K. 1516, rv. 6.
nârTAR.TA.RI: [547] K. 587, obv. 17.
mât(?)TA.TA.AI: [649] 81–2–4, 110, obv. 9.
amêlTA.ZI.RU: [138] K. 469, rv. 11.
alTI.IG.RI.IŠ: [342] 79–7–8, 234, rv. 1.
alTI.IL[.]: [282] K. 524, rv. 1.
alTIL BUR.SI.BI: [322] K. 663, rv. 7.
alTIL TU.Ú.RI: [131] K. 625, obv. 8.
mâtTU.A.NU: [466] Sm. 51, obv. 10.
mâtTU.NI.TA.ŠÚ[.]: [698] Sm. 764+Sm. 1650, obv. 14.
alTÚ.NU.NA: [43] K. 122, obv. 22.
nâr(?)TUR.NU: [503] K. 667, rv. 16.
alṬUR.UP[. .]: [390] Sm. 1046, obv. 15.
alṬU.UR.UŠ.PA.A: [144] K. 194, obv. 8, 15, 16, [146] K. 1080, rv. 9, [148] K. 1907, obv. 4, [444] K. 645, obv. 19, [492] 81–2–4, 60, obv. 5; alṬu-ru-uš-pa-a, [381] 81–2–4, 55, rv. 5, [424] Sm. 760, obv. 13; alṬu-ru-uš-pi-a, [123] K. 574, rv. 4.
mâtÚ.A.ZA.E: [646] 79–7–8, 292, obv. 10; mâtÚ-a-za-un, [197] K. 181, rv. 3.

^{al}Ú.E.SI: [198] K. 5464, rv. 2, [380] R^{m} 2, 3, rv. 6, [444] K. 645, obv. 5, 14, [492] 81-2-4, 60, obv. 9, [515] K. 621, obv. 7; ^{al}Ú-ai-si, [198] K. 5464, obv. 27, 29; ^{al}U-a-si, [409] R^{m} 2, 2, obv. 9, 14.

^{amêl}Ú.BA.AI.NA.AT: [282] K 524, rv. 12.

^{al}Ú.BA.SI.E: [433] 79-7-8, 138, obv. 5, [626] K. 1233, rv. 7.

^{mât}Ú.KA.AI: [145] K. 910, obv. 4, [198] K. 5464, rv. 12, 15, [380] R^{m} 2, 3, rv. 1, [444] K. 645, obv. 8, [619] K. 1182, obv. 9; ^{mât}U-ka-ai, [409] R^{m} 2, 2, obv. 10; ^{mât}Uk-ka-ai, [197] K. 181, obv. 8, 20.

^{amêl}UK.KA.AI: [101] K. 561, obv. 7, 14, 17, rv. 1, 19, [104] K. 1195, obv. 5; ^{mât}U^{1}-ka-ai, [490] K. 746, obv. 3.

^{nâr}Ú.LA.AI: [281] K. 13, obv. 9.

^{mât}Ú.LI.AI: [619] K. 1182, obv. 9; ^{mât}'-li-e, [520] K. 680, obv. 12.

^{al}Ú.LU.ŠI.A: [342] 79-7-8, 234, obv. 6.

^{al}Ú.MAR: [112] K. 485, obv. 16.

^{al}Ú.PI.A: [89] K. 515, obv. 12, rv. 7; ^{al}Ú-pi-i, [608] K. 1136, rv. 7; ^{al}Ú-pi-ia, [795] Bu. 91-5-9, 107, rv. 10; $^{[al]}$Ú-pi-i, [504] K. 1176, obv. 11.

^{šad}UP.PA.AI: [88] K. 507, rv. 4.

UR[=ŠEŠ.URU^{ki}]: [38] K. 1049, rv. 5; ^{amêl}Šeš-uru^{ki}-ai, [753] 82-5-2, 111, rv. 7.

^{al}Ú.RA: [490] K. 746, rv. 3.

^{mât}Ú.RA.AR.ṬA.AI: [123] K. 574, obv. 6; ^{mât}Urarṭu, [101] K. 561, obv. 8, [112] K. 485, obv. 8, rv. 6, [145] K. 910, obv. 5, [146] K. 1080, obv. 6, [434] Bu. 89-4-26, 163, obv. 10, [544] K. 464, rv. 2, [596] K. 1120, obv. 5, [705] 82-5-22, 109, rv. 3; ^{mât}Urarṭa-a, [251] K. 506, obv. 9; ^{mât}Urarṭa-ai, [139] K. 1067, obv. 9, rv. 9, [144] K. 194, obv. 7, [146] K. 1080, obv. 7, 8, 10, [205] K. 537, obv. 5, [215] K. 1037, obv. 3, [252] K. 525, obv. 9, [306] K. 622, obv. 4, [381] 81-2-4, 55, obv. 5, rv. 4, [409] R^{m} 2, 2, obv. 5, [424] Sm. 760, obv. 6, [515] K. 621, obv. 4, [548] K. 593, obv. 6; $^{amêl\ mât}$Urarṭa-ai, [492] 81-2-4, 60, obv. 5.

^{al}UR.IA.KU: [645] R^{m} 2, 464, obv. 13, [713] R^{m} 59, obv. 7; ^{al}Ur-ia-ak-ai, [713] R^{m} 59, obv. 12.

URUK^{ki}: [202] K. 83, rv. 4, [266] K. 79, rv. 3, 11, [267] K. 462, obv. 14, [274] K. 81, obv. 20, rv. 3, 6, [451] K. 924, obv. 12, 13, [469] 48-11-4, 282, obv. 13, 16, rv. 7, 13, [472] 80-7-19, 46, obv. 5, [476] 83-1-18, 5, obv. 18, 29, rv. 3, [572] K. 1001, obv. 9, [589] K. 1106, rv. 4, [622] K. 1210, rv. 3, [747] K. 923, obv. 7, [751] Sm. 920, obv. 3, 5, [752] R^{m} 48, obv. 2, 4, [753] 82-5-2, 111, obv. 3, 4, rv. 3, 11, [754] K. 5457, obv. 2, 3, [755] 83-1-18, 122, obv. 2, [815] 48-7-20, 116, obv. 2, 4, 7, 8, rv. 4, 9, 22, [831] K. 470, rv. 13, [866] 81-2-4, 93, obv. 3, 12; Uruk^{ki}-ai, [754] K. 5457, obv. 10, 27; ^{al}Ú-ru-uk, [314] K. 1227, obv. 9; Uruk, [247] K. 1027, obv. 8; ^{amêl}Uruk$^{ki\ pl.}$, [296] 1162, obv. 2, [297] K. 1271,

^{1}Mâ.

obv. 2, [518] 83-1-18, 27, obv. 2; $^{amêl\,al}$Uruk^{ki}-ai, [70] K. 1070, obv. 6, [753] 82-5-2, 11, rv. 3; ^{amêl}Uruk^{ki}-ai, [201] K. 647, rv. 13, [277] K. 4736, rv. 4, 6, [472] 80-7-19, 46, obv. 6, [476] 83-1-18, 5, obv. 6, [527] K. 830, rv. 9, [589] K. 1106, rv. 7, [753] 82-5-2, 111, rv. 3, 11, [815] 48-7-20, 116, obv. 2, 4.

^{al}UR.ZU.ḪI.NA: [192] K. 146, obv. 7, [306] K. 622, obv. 7, 22, [408] R^{m} 2, 1, obv. 8, 18, 23, rv. 8, 31, [529] K. 1252*a*, obv. 8, rv. 2, 15; ^{al}Ur-zu-ḫi-na-ai, [599] K. 1124, rv. 2.

$^{al\,amêl}$UŠ.ḪA.AI: [246] K. 669, obv. 4.

^{mât}Ú.ŠÚ.Ú: [800] K. 7424, obv. 8.

^{al}Ú.ÇUR.^{ilu}ADAD: [763] 81-2-4, 126, rv. 4.

^{al}Ú.TU: [589] K. 1106, rv. 4.

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^{al}ZAB.BAN: [641] K. 9389, obv. 4; ^{al}Za-ban, [311] K. 630, obv. 10; ^{al}Za-an-ban, [516] 81-7-27, 31, obv. 17.

^{al}ZAB.DA.NU: [280] K. 10, obv. 7, 8.

^{al}ZA.AD.DI: [522] K. 498, rv. 2.

^{mât}ZA.LI.PA.AI: [165] K. 497, obv. 6, rv. 10.

^{mât}ZA.[. .]ME: [771] 83-1-18, 49, obv. 8; ^{mât}Za-me, [754] K. 5457, obv. 12.

^{mât}ZA.MU.A: [684] 80-7-19, 37, rv. 5; ^{mât}Za-mu-u, [311] K. 630, rv. 4, [582] K. 1093, rv. 1.

^{al}ZA.NA.KI: [846] K. 673, obv. 8; $^{amêl\,al}$Za-na-ki-ú-a [846] K. 673, rv. 8; $^{šal\,al}$Za-na-ki-i-tú, [846] K. 673, rv. 5.

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^{mât}ZI.KI.RA.AI: [515] K. 621, obv. 6; ^{mât}Zi-kir-ta-ai, [198] K. 5464, obv. 25, [215] K. 1037, rv. 6; ^{amêl}Zí-kir-ta-ai, [205] K. 537, obv. 4, 6, 9.

^{mât}ZI.KI.TI.A: [515] K. 621, obv. 15.

LIST OF ABREVIATIONS AND BOOKS QUOTED

ABL. = Robert Francis Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, Vols. I–VIII.
AC., I. = O. A. Toffteen, *Ancient Chronology*, Part I.
ADD. = Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, Vols. I and II.
AJSL. = *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.*
AL. = Winckler, *The Tell el-Amarna Letters.*
An. = *Annals.*
Anp. = Ashurnaṣirpal.
Bez. *Cat.* = Bezold, *Catalogue.*
Billerbeck, *Sandshak-Suleimania.*
Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Vols. I–V.
Brünnow, *Classified List.*
Cyl. = Cylinder.
Delattre, *Le peuple et l'empire de Mèdes.*
Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik; Assyrisches Handwörterbuch; Wo lag das Paradies?*
HL. = King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Ḫammurabi*, Vols. I–III.
Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens.*
Johnston, *The Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians.*
K. = Kouyunjik.
KAT.^{3} = *Keilinschriften und das alte Testament*, 3te.
KB. = *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Vols. I–VI.
Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott.*
Meissner, *Beiträge zur altbabylonischen Privatrecht.*
Mon. = Monolith.
Mürdter-Delitzsch, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens.*
Muss-Arnolt, *Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language.*
MVG. = *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.*
Ob. = Obelisk.
Paton, *The Early History of Syria and Palestine.*
PSBA. = *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.*
R. = Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vols. I–V.
RA. = *Revue d'assyriologie.*
RMA. = Thompson, *The Report of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon*, Vols. I, II.
Sarg. = Sargon.
Shalm. = Shalmaneser.
Toffteen, *Ancient Chronology*, Part I.

TP. = Tiglath-pileser.
TSBA. = *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.*
VBAG.= *Verhandlungen der b.-anthropologische Gesellschaft.*
Winckler, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens.*
ZA. = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.*
ZDMG. = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*
ZDPV. = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palestina-Vereins.*
ZE. = *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.*

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